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Lord Mahon
History of England from the peace of Utrecht.
36799 Vol IV

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A. D.		Page
1749.	State of parties after the Peace of Aix La Chapelle	1
	Subsidies to Foreign Powers	2
	Grant to the Town Council of Glasgow	3
	City of Halifax founded	5
	Half-Pay Officers and soldiers	6
	New Clause in the Mutiny Bill	7
1750.	Growing dissatisfaction of the people	9
	Temporary revival of Jacobitism	10
	Prince Charles Stuart secretly in London	*ib.*
	Account of his expedition by himself	11
	And by Dr. King	12
1751.	Death of the Prince of Wales	14
	Prudent conduct of the Princess	16
	Unpopularity of the Duke of Cumberland	17
	Bill of Regency	18
	Bill for the General Naturalization of Protestants	20
	Reformation of the Calendar	21
	Cabal against the Duke of Bedford	23
	He resigns the Seals	25
	Earl Granville, President of the Council	*ib.*
	Death of Lord Bolingbroke	26
1752.	New treaties of Subsidy	27
	Mr. Alexander Murray	28
	His Committal to Newgate	29
	Privileges of the House of Commons in that age	30
	Leicester House	31

A. D. Page
1753. Favour of the Earl of Bute 33
His character,..... 34
Jews' Naturalization Bill 35
The Marriage Act..... 37
Arguments against it..... 39
Charles Townshend..... 40
Recrimination between Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Fox 41
A female Quaker on the King's Throne 42
The British Museum founded..... 43
Execution of Dr. Cameron 44
1754. Death of Mr. Pelham..... 45

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Duke of Newcastle at the Treasury 47
Rivalry for the Seals ..... *ib.*
Mr. Pitt (Earl of Chatham)..... 48
Mr. Fox (Lord Holland)..... 49
Mr. Murray (Earl of Mansfield)..... 51
Negotiation between Newcastle and Fox..... 54
Its failure..... 56
Sir Thomas Robinson becomes Secretary of State.... *ib.*
Resentment of Pitt 57
His marriage..... 59
The Parliament dissolved..... *ib.*
Combination between Pitt and Fox 60
Debates in the new Parliament..... 61
1755. Newcastle renews his overtures to Fox..... 62
And prevails with him..... 63
Differences with France on the East Indian affairs... 64
And on the American boundary 65
Earl of Albemarle, Ambassador at Paris..... 66
The King's journey to Hanover..... 67
Capture of the Alcide and the Lys 68
Defeat and death of General Braddock..... 69
Discussions at the Board of Regency..... 70
Public discontents..... 72
Treaties of Subsidy..... 73
Conference between Newcastle and Pitt..... 75

A. D. Page
1755. Return of the King from Hanover 77
The Seals given to Fox ..... *ib.*
The Duchess of Brunswick 78
Cabals at Leicester House 80
Meeting of Parliament 81
Single-Speech Hamilton 82
Eloquence of Pitt 83
The Rhone and the Saone 84
Pitt and Legge dismissed from office 85
Great earthquake at Lisbon 86
Distress of the Portuguese 90
Benevolence of the English 91
The London Masquerades 92
Fears of a French invasion ..... *ib.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1756. French design upon Minorca 94
Remissness of the British Ministers 95
The enemy appear off Ciudadella 96
Siege of St. Philip's Castle 97
Admiral Byng 98
Naval action on the 20th of May 100
Byng returns to Gibraltar 101
Continued siege of St. Philip's 103
Terms of capitulation 105
Public clamours in England 106
Byng brought home in arrest 107
Declaration of War against France 108
Danger of the King of Prussia ..... *ib.*
Project of alliance between Austria and France 109
Madame de Pompadour 111
Treaty signed at Versailles 113
The Czarina Elizabeth 114
Augustus, King of Poland 115
Convention between England and Prussia 116
Commencement of the "Seven Years War" 117
Battle of Lowositz 118
Capitulation of Pirna 119
North-American affairs 120

A.D. Page
1756. Cabals at home 121
Fox resigns the Seals 123
Murray appointed Lord Chief Justice 124
Retirement of Newcastle and Hardwicke 125
Conference between Fox and Pitt 126
The Duke of Devonshire, First Lord of the Treasury 127
Pitt, Secretary of State 128
Meeting of Parliament ..... *ib.*
Dismissal of the Hanoverian troops from England ... 129
Earl Temple's speech on the Address 131
Corn Laws 132
1757. Highland Regiments raised 133
Militia Bills 134
Vote of money for the defence of Hanover 135
Court Martial on Byng 137
The sentence 138
Byng's courageous demeanour 139
Endeavours of Pitt to save his life 140
Parliamentary steps in his behalf 141
His execution 144

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Dissatisfaction of the King with his Ministers 146
His complaints to Lord Waldegrave 147
The Duke of Newcastle 148
Pitt and Lord Temple dismissed 149
Inquiry on the loss of Minorca 150
Public ferment 152
"It rains gold boxes" 153
Various attempts to form a Government 154
Chesterfield called upon as Mediator 155
Pitt and Newcastle combine 156
Thus also Fox and Waldegrave 157
Conference between Newcastle and Waldegrave 158
New Administration 159
Pitt and Newcastle again in office 161
Fox as Paymaster ..... *ib.*
Expedition against Rochefort 163
Sir John Mordaunt 164

A. D. Page
1757. The expedition unsuccessful.... 165
Offer to restore Gibraltar to Spain.... 166
Campaign in North America.... 167
And in Germany.... 168
Battle of Prague.... 169
Fall of Marshal Schwerin.... 170
Defeat of the Prussians at Kolin.... 171
Fortitude of King Frederick.... 172
Defeat of the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck... 173
Convention of Closter-Seven.... 174
The Duke returns to England.... 175
Resigns all his employments.... 176
Frederick marches against the Prince de Soubise.... 177
Battle of Rosbach.... 178
French rhymes written by Frederick.... 179
German enthusiasm which he rouses.... 180
He gains another victory at Leuthen.... 181
Close of his campaign.... 182
1758. Subsidy to him voted in the House of Commons.... 183
Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.... 184
The Habeas Corpus Bill.... 185
Affairs of Ireland.... 188
The Duke of Bedford Lord Lieutenant.... 189
Maxims of Primate Boulter.... 190
The Irish Parliament.... 191
Apprehensions of an Union.... 192
Tumults at Dublin.... 193
State of Ireland at that period.... 194

CHAPTER XXXV.

Conquest of Senegal.... 197
And of Goree.... 198
Pitt's designs for North America.... 199
Cape Breton reduced.... 200
Repulse of the British at Ticonderoga.... 202
Taking of Fort Duquesne.... 203
Its name altered to Pittsburg.... *ib.*
Expedition to the coast of France.... 204
The works at Cherbourg destroyed.... 206

A. D.		Page
1758.	Action at St. Cast	207
	Campaign of Prince Ferdinand	208
	Battle of Crefeld	210
	Siege of Olmütz by the King of Prussia	211
	His victory over the Russians at Zorndorf	214
	Battle of Hochkirchen	215
	Death of Field-Marshal Keith	216
	Meeting of Parliament	217
	Supplies and Subsidy voted	218
1759.	Projects of the French for the invasion of England	220
	The town of Havre bombarded	221
	The Toulon fleet pursued and defeated	*ib.*
	Reduction of Guadaloupe	222
	State of Canada at this period	223
	The Marquis de Montcalm	224
	General Wolfe	225
	Appointments for the intended expedition	228
	Parting scene between Pitt and Wolfe	229
	Action at Niagara	231
	Ticonderoga taken	232
	Wolfe enters the river St. Lawrence	233
	And lands in the Isle of Orleans	234
	City of Quebec	235
	Prudent dispositions of the Marquis de Montcalm	237
	Wolfe attacks the French lines	239
	His repulse	240
	He falls sick	241
	His desponding views at this period	242
	Design to land beneath the Heights of Abraham	243
	"Wolfe's Cove"	*ib.*
	Gray's Elegy	244
	The English army drawn out on the heights	245
	Confronted by the French	246
	Battle of Quebec	247
	Heroic death of Wolfe	248
	And of Montcalm	*ib.*
	Quebec surrenders	249
	Joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm	250

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A. D.		Page
1759.	The Brest Fleet	251
	Admiral Hawke	252
	Naval Battle of Quiberon	253
	The King of Prussia's campaign	255
	His defeat at Kunersdorf	256
	His resolution of suicide	257
	Favourable change in his affairs	258
	New disaster at Maxen	259
	Prince Ferdinand and the Hanoverian army	260
	Battle of Bergen	261
	And of Minden	262
	Conduct of Lord George Sackville	263
	Clamours against him	266
	He is recalled to England	267
	And tried by a Court Martial	268
	His sentence	270
	Death of Ferdinand the Sixth of Spain	271
	Queen Barbara	273
	Accession of the King of Naples to the Spanish throne	274
	His character	275
	Glories of this year to England	277
	Honours paid to Pitt	278
	His ascendency in the House of Commons	279
	Earl Temple claims the Garter	280
	And is supported by Pitt	281
	Temporary dissension among the Ministers	*ib.*
	Present state of the Garter considered	282
1760.	Thurot's expedition to the coast of Ireland	284
	Siege of Carrickfergus	285
	Campaign in Canada	286
	Action at Sillery	287
	Three British armies meet before Montreal	289
	Reduction of that city	290
	And of the whole province	*ib.*
	Hostilities with the Cherokee Indians	291
	Letters of the King of Prussia	293
	His system of finance	294

A. D. Page
1760. And of recruiting. 295
Siege of Dresden 298
And of Breslau 299
The King's victory at Liegnitz ..... *ib.*
Berlin surprised by the Russians 300
Frightful carnage at Torgau 301
Prince Ferdinand's skill and success 304
The Chevalier d'Assas 305
Sudden death of George the Second 306

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The new reign 308
Character of George the Third 309
Lord Bute sworn of the Privy Council 312
Rivalries and cabals at Court 313
The new Prayer of the Liturgy 314
The Rangership of Richmond Park 315
Funeral of His late Majesty 316
Opening of Parliament 317
The King's popularity 319
Whigs and Tories of that period 320
Designs of the Duke of Newcastle 321
Of Lord Bute 322
And of Bubb Dodington 323
1761. Close of the Session 324
Retirement of Speaker Onslow 326
Changes in the administration 327
New Elections 329
The King's marriage announced 330
Character of Queen Charlotte 331
She arrives in England 334
The Coronation 335
Campaign in Silesia 336
Schweidnitz taken by the Austrians 338
And Colberg by the Russians 339
Frederick on the brink of ruin 340
The two Princes of Brunswick 341
The battle-field of Herman and Varus 342
Victory of the Allies at Kirch-Denkern 343

A. D. Page
1761. The Duke de Choiseul 344
Projected Congress at Augsburg 345
Mission of M. de Bussy to London ..... *ib.*
And of Mr. Hans Stanley to Paris 346
Negotiations for peace 347
The English reduce Belleisle 348
Connection between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid 351
Complaints of Spain against England 352
Resolute language of Pitt 354
The "Family Compact" signed 355
Secret Articles 356
Pitt breaks off the negotiation with France 358
And urges an immediate war against Spain 359
But is overruled in the Cabinet 361
He resigns 362
Followed by Lord Temple ..... *ib.*
Review of his administration 363

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Undisputed ascendency of Lord Bute 365
A pension bestowed on Pitt 366
And a peerage on Lady Hester 367
Popular dissatisfaction 368
The Guildhall Dinner 369
The new Parliament meets 370
Mr. George Grenville ..... *ib.*
Colonel Barré 372
Dowry for the Queen 373
Negotiations at Madrid continued 374
1762. Declaration of War against Spain 375
The Prussian Subsidy 376
Estrangement from the Court of Berlin 377
Death of the Czarina 378
New policy of her successor 379
Lord Bute and Prince Gallitzin 380
France and Spain declare war against Portugal 382
British supplies and reinforcements 383
Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle 384

A.D. Page
1762. His motives 385
His overtures for returning to office 386
Rising clamour against Lord Bute 387
John Wilkes 388
The "Prophecy of Famine" 389
Birth of a Prince of Wales 390
Dethronement and death of the Czar 391
The war in Silesia 392
In Westphalia 393
And in Portugal 394
Expedition against Martinico 396
And against Cuba 397
The Moro taken by assault 399
And the Havanna by capitulation 400
The Philippine Islands reduced 401
Renewed negotiations with France 403
The Duke of Bedford at Paris 404
Terms agreed upon 405
News of the reduction of the Havanna 406
Difference in the British Cabinet ..... *ib.*
Preliminaries signed at Fontainebleau 407
Charge against Lord Bute 409
Ministerial changes 410
And resignations at Court 411
Lord Barrington and the Duke of Newcastle 412
The meeting of Parliament 413
Speech of Pitt against the Preliminaries 414
Large majority for them ..... *ib.*
The Peace of Paris 415
Negotiation between Austria and Prussia ..... *ib.*
The Peace of Hubertsburg 416

CHAPTER XXXIX.

INDIA.

General view of our Indian Empire 418
Earliest accounts of India 420
Alexander's expedition ..... *ib.*
The Mahometan conquests 421

Page
The Mogul Emperors 422
Baber ..... *ib.*
Akbar 423
Aurungzebe 424
Splendour of the Mogul Court 425
Decline after the death of Aurungzebe 427
Passage of the Cape by the Portuguese 428
East India Company in England 429
A rival company established 431
Union between the two Companies 432
The English in India 433
Foundation of Madras ..... *ib.*
Bombay acquired from the Portuguese 434
Rise of Calcutta 435
The three Presidencies 436
The French in India 437
Mahé de La Bourdonnais 438
Dupleix 439
War between the two nations 440
The French take Madras 441
Differences among their chiefs 442
La Bourdonnais returns to Europe 444
His death 445
Attempt on Fort St. David by the French 446
Siege of Pondicherry by the English 447
Intrigues of Dupleix with the native powers 448
The Nizam 449
The Nabob of Arcot ..... *ib.*
The "City of the Victory of Dupleix" 450
Siege of Trichinopoly 451
Rise and character of Clive 453
He surprises Arcot 457
Besieged by Rajah Sahib 458
His heroic defence 459
The enemy repulsed 462
Action at Arnee ..... *ib.*
And at Coverpauk 464
Major Lawrence 465
The French compelled to lay down their arms ..... *ib.*
Clive returns to Europe 468

Page
Pacification between the English and French Companies..... 469
Fate of Dupleix..... 470

CHAPTER XL.

INDIA.

Clive appointed Governor of Fort St. David..... 471
His expedition against Angria..... 472
The Nabob of Bengal dies..... 473
Succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah..... *ib.*
Surajah Dowlah commences war against the English 474
He reduces Fort William..... *ib.*
The English prisoners confined in the "Black Hole" 475
Their sufferings..... 476
Interview between Mr. Holwell and the Nabob..... 478
Grief and resentment at Madras..... 479
An expedition under Clive sent out..... 480
Clive enters the Hooghly..... 481
Calcutta retaken..... 482
Skirmish against Surajah Dowlah..... 483
Treaty of peace and alliance with him..... 484
Chandernagore attacked and reduced..... 485
Intrigues of the Nabob with the French..... 486
And of the English with Meer Jaffier..... 488
Omichund..... 489
Two Treaties,—the White and the Red..... 490
Counterfeited signature..... 491
Surajah Dowlah's army..... 492
Advance of Clive..... 493
His Council of War..... 494
Battle of Plassey..... 495
Flight of Surajah Dowlah..... 499
He is taken and put to death..... 500
Treaty with the new Nabob, Meer Jaffier..... 501
Fate of Omichund..... 502
Incursion of Shah Alum..... 503
The Circars..... 504
Action with the Dutch..... 505

Page
Clive returns to Europe..... 506
Transactions in the Carnatic..... 508
Comte de Lally lands at Pondicherry..... 509
He reduces Fort St. David..... 510
And razes its works to the ground 511
His siege of Madras 512
He is compelled to retreat..... 514
Naval actions..... *ib.*
Colonel Eyre Coote lands at Madras..... 515
Battle of Wandewash..... 517
Hyder Ali 520
Siege of Pondicherry by Coote..... 521
Surrender of the place 522
Downfal of the French power in India..... 523
Concluding reflections..... 524

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

For several years after the peace of Aix la Chapelle the public business in England continued to flow in a calm and unbroken current. The busy jealousies and cabals of the Duke of Newcastle, though ever teeming, seldom rose above the surface. Mr. Pelham glided quietly down the stream, watchful and trembling at the smallest eddy. Mr. Pitt remained quiet in his nook as Paymaster. The Opposition had sunk to a low pitch both in reputation and in numbers. Nominally it had for its chief the Prince of Wales, but in truth his influence was confined to a narrow circle of friends; for so weak and fickle had been his conduct to all parties, that even the near approach of a throne could not make him an object of respect. His little council was directed mainly by Lord Perceval, who had lately succeeded to the

CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

Irish Earldom of Egmont—by Dr. Lee, a Civilian of high integrity and considerable powers of eloquence,—and by Bubb Dodington, a recent convert from the Court. Yet small as was his party it was not compact; it was often rent asunder by factions and intrigues. Thus, in November 1749, the Parliament was opened by the King in person with a moderate and conciliatory Speech, tending only to congratulate the country on the restored blessings of peace; yet on the Address the Earl of Egmont could not refrain from pouring forth a torrent of invective, and thereby giving great offence to several of his own allies. The Prince endeavoured to excuse him to Dodington. "It is right," said he, "to talk and throw things out to expose "the Ministry."—"Yes, Sir," answered Dodington, "I suppose talk may be right, but people should "consider what talk, and if they have any thing "to say; thus perpetually to throw out things "which one neither understands nor can prove is, "I think, exposing oneself, and not the person "aimed at!" *

The Sessions of 1749 and 1750 were marked by several important measures. It was proposed by the Government to grant 100,000*l.* to the Empress Queen, and a smaller sum to some smaller German princes, beyond the subsidies stipulated during the continuance of war. These gifts were negotiated by Newcastle, who had attended His Majesty

* Dodington's Diary, November 24. 1749.

CHAP. XXXI.

1749.

in two summer visits to Hanover. Pelham, as head of the Treasury, refused at first his sanction to the scheme. He writes to his brother: "I perceive "that you are anxious to find out an expedient "for paying the whole or any part of the remaining "100,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary. You think "their late behaviour deserves some consideration; "I protest I think the contrary. What merit "have they to us in making peace, any more than "we to them? we all wanted it. . . . Have we not "paid Her Imperial Majesty 75,000*l.*, and the "Dutch, I suppose, 25,000*l.*, for regiments of "horse that never stirred from their quarters, nor, "to our certain knowledge, ever existed? . . . The "Prince of Wolfenbuttel may be a very honest "gentleman, but his being in a good or bad "humour will not pay our public debts."* But, notwithstanding these scruples of Pelham, the influence of the Duke prevailed; the new subsidies were proposed, and carried through the House of Commons; and it is amusing to find how earnestly Pelham applied himself to support the very grants which he disapproved, and to answer his own objections, when urged by his political opponents.

Another grant, proposed by the Government, and resulting from the war, was of 10,000*l.*, to indemnify the Magistrates and Town-Council of Glasgow for the like sum levied upon them during what

* Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle, October 25. 1748. —Coxe's Pelham.

CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

was termed "the late unnatural Rebellion."* This grant was, however, resisted by Lord Egmont, Mr. Nugent, and Mr. Bowes. They urged that Glasgow was unduly favoured beyond Carlisle and Derby, which had also suffered, but were not also rewarded; that such indemnities were an ill precedent to set; that the citizens of Glasgow deserved no peculiar praise for their loyalty to the House of Hanover, since from the small numbers of the Highland army which marched into England it was easy to foresee its final failure. But this last objection was most ingeniously retorted by Pitt upon the objectors. "At the "time of the Revolution," said he, "when it "was at first said that the Prince of Orange was "to invade England with an army of 30,000 men, "and many of the then King's friends seemed to "be frightened at the news, a noble Lord, who "was known to be a firm friend, seemed to make "light of the news, and said he apprehended no "danger from such an army. But when it was after-"wards reported that the Prince was to bring but "20,000, he began to be afraid; and when he heard "that the Prince was to come with 14,000 only, "then cries he, 'We are undone!' When they "asked him the reason why he was so much "afraid of 14,000, when he seemed no way afraid "of 30,000, he answered, 'An army of 30,000 "could not conquer England; but no man would

* See Vol. III. p. 370. and 423., second ed.

" come here with an army of 14,000 if he was not " sure of finding a great many traitors amongst " ourselves.' ".* Thus Pitt contended that the smaller the numbers of the Highland army the more cause had the citizens of Glasgow for alarm, the more temptation to disloyalty; and in the end, a cry of Jacobitism being raised against all who opposed the grant, it was allowed to pass without a division.

CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

We may observe, in passing, how high, even at this period, before he had filled any Cabinet office, or done any great public service, Pitt stood in the estimation of his colleagues, and how frank and cordial had been his conduct towards them. " I " think him," writes Pelham to Newcastle, " the " most able and useful man we have amongst us; " truly honourable and strictly honest. He is as " firm a friend to us as we can wish for; and a " more useful one there does not exist." †

A third measure, to which the recent war gave rise, was the foundation of a new colonial city. In the year after the peace the land forces in Great Britain were reduced to little more than 18,000 men; those in Minorca, Gibraltar, and the American plantations, to 10,000; while the sailors retained in the Royal Navy were under 17,000.‡ From the large number both of soldiers and sea-

* Parl. History, vol. xiv. p. 505.

† Letter of August 3. 1750.—Coxe's Pelham.

‡ Commons' Journals, November 23. 1749, and January 19. 1750.

CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

men suddenly discharged it was feared that they might be either driven to distress or tempted to depredation. Thus, both for their own comfort and for the quiet of the remaining community, emigration seemed to afford a safe and excellent resource. The province of Nova Scotia was pitched upon for this experiment, and the freehold of fifty acres was offered to each settler, with ten acres more for every child brought with him, besides a free passage, and an exemption from all taxes during a term of ten years. Allured by such advantages, above 4,000 persons, with their families, embarked under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, and landed at the harbour of Chebuctow. The new town which soon arose from their labours received its name from the Earl of Halifax, who presided at the Board of Trade, and who had the principal share in the foundation of this colony. In the first winter there were but 300 huts of wood, surrounded by a palisade; but Halifax at present deserves to be ranked among the most thriving dependencies of the British Crown. It contained in 1839 not less than 2,000 houses and 20,000 people.*

But the legions of half-pay officers and soldiers still remaining at home suggested another measure of prudence and precaution; a clause, now for the first time added to the annual Mutiny Bill, subjected all such persons to martial law. This

* Martin's Statistics of the British Colonies, p. 214.

clause did not pass without most vehement opposition in both Houses. It was represented as a manifest and dangerous augmentation to the power of the Crown;—as a fresh and irresistible argument on the perils from a standing army to constitutional freedom. Pitt, on the other hand, was stirred by these common-places into declaring that the best safeguard to liberty lies in the virtue of an army. "Without this virtue," said he, "should the "Lords, the Commons, and the people of England "intrench themselves behind parchment up to the "teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of "the Constitution." In the House of Peers, Lord Bath, who had been Secretary at War during the Rebellion of 1715, and had ordered four half-pay officers taken prisoners at Preston to be tried and shot according to martial law, condemned his own conduct as proceeding from "heat and hurry," and declared his present opinion,—"that order and "discipline may be kept up in the army without "any Mutiny Bill at all!"* CHAP. XXXI. 1749.

This clause, as affecting the army, being sanctioned by a great majority, a similar clause for naval officers was introduced into the Marine Mutiny Bill. But here the timidity and irresolution of Pelham were apparent. Admiral Vernon, and some other naval Members of Parliament, having opposed the clause with much warmth, the Minister took alarm at the spirit that might be raised

* Parl. History, vol. xiv. p. 397. 456. and 476.

CHAP. XXXI.

1749. out of doors, and relinquished his proposal; thus leaving in the law a most anomalous disparity between the two branches of public defence.

1750. It was not, however, any such important debate that did then, or would now, attract the principal attention. The following entry, which I find in Dodington's Journal, is highly characteristic of the House of Commons. "January 29. 1750: "Debate upon a turnpike Bill espoused by the "Duke of Bedford; the fullest House and greatest "division of any day of the Session; after which "the House thinned."

During this period the nation, little stirred by the struggles of party, was making silent, and therefore, perhaps, the more rapid, strides in prosperity. Our manufactures at home grew apace; while several branches of our foreign commerce,—such as the whale fishery off Spitzbergen,—the white-herring and cod fisheries—the trade to the Coast of Guinea—the import of iron from the American plantations, and of raw silk from China,—were cleared of restrictions or quickened by bounties.* But the contentment of the people with their Government bore no degree of proportion to their welfare or to its mildness. Where in

* We may gather, from a satirical touch in one of the novels of that day (Peregrine Pickle, which was written in 1750), how much the merchants and men of business had complained of "restrictions" and "exorbitant duties," several of which were removed about this time. See chap. lxxiv. vol. iii. p. 6. ed. 1806.

a free state there are no great qualities nor glorious deeds in rulers to catch the public eye, it would almost seem as though the ease and pride of prosperity served only to impart more leisure and loudness to complaint. Wanting other grievances at this time, the nation more frequently saw and urged as such, the character of the King's two sons; —the feeble character of Frederick,—the violent character of William. Even Pelham owns in confidence to his brother: "I am afraid the country "is not so well disposed to some branches of the "Royal Family as they were upon the late rebel- "lion. The eldest loses esteem and confidence "more and more every day; and the other does "not conduct himself so prudently with regard to "the temper of this country and constitution as to "make amends for the unfortunate turn of the "other. Our whole dependence at present is "upon the King."* In reply, the Duke of Newcastle can only express a faint hope that the spirit of Jacobitism is "NOT MUCH increased."† That spirit was fomented by the King of Prussia, partly from personal dislike to his Royal kinsman at St. James's, partly from political resentment at the endeavours of England to promote the election of the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans. A singular anomaly at this time, that a Protestant monarch should become the main hope of a Romish

CHAP. XXXI. 1750.

* Secret letter from Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle. June 1. 1750.

† Letter, June 20. 1750. N. S.

CHAP. XXXI. 1750.

Pretender! As an overt mark of its ill intention, the Court of Berlin sent about this time the Earl Marischal as its Minister to Paris. Other signs of disaffection nearly as overt appeared in many of the English counties. One of these may claim especial notice from its singularity. In the neighbourhood of Lichfield the principal gentlemen clothed their hounds in tartan plaid, with which they hunted a fox dressed in a red uniform. The romantic adventures of Charles in his escape from Scotland were eagerly perused under the name of "the young Ascanius." His busts of plaster were commonly sold in London.* The country ladies were proud to sing the ditties in his praise; the country gentlemen to drink his health in deep bumpers. Yet the Highlanders, ever faithful to their fancied allegiance, might look with some scorn on their Southern allies, who, in the cause for which they had freely shed their blood, would only pour forth their wine!

To turn to good account such returning gleams of public favour, the young Chevalier, in September 1750, came disguised and secretly to London. I have already had occasion to relate by anticipation, and on the respectable authority of Forsyth, his mysterious introduction to a meeting of his friends in Pall Mall, and the generous sentiments towards the reigning family which he there expressed.† But

* Dr. King's Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 199.

† Forsyth's Italy, p. 587., Geneva ed., and Vol. III. p. 253. of this History, second ed.

CHAP. XXXI. 1750.

I have also found in the State Paper Office a further account of this remarkable expedition from the statement of Charles himself. It is contained in a despatch of Sir Horace Mann, the British Minister in Tuscany, and the correspondent of Walpole, and is dated December 6. 1783. Sir Horace, after relating the arrival at Florence of the King of Sweden, and a dinner which His Majesty accepted at Charles's house, in the course of which the exiled Prince exclaimed: "Oh! Sir, "what a consolation to me at length to sit at table "with one of my equals!" thus proceeds: "They (the King of Sweden and the Pretender) "then passed to common discourse, in which the "Pretender related some circumstances of his life "that had occurred formerly to him, and par- "ticularly what follows; that in the month of "September 1750 he came from France in com- "pany only with a Colonel Brett; that they exa- "mined the exterior parts of the Tower, one gate "of which they thought might be beaten down "with a petard; from thence they went to a lodg- "ing in Pall Mall, where about fifty of his friends "were assembled, among whom were the Duke "of Beaufort* and the Earl of Westmoreland†;

* This was Lord Noel Somerset, who had succeeded to the Dukedom in 1746. He died in 1756, and was great grandfather of the present Duke and Lord Granville Somerset. (Collins' Peerage, vol. i. p. 241.)

† John, seventh Earl. *Notwithstanding* his Jacobite politics, he was a Lieut. General in the army. *Because* of them, he was,

CHAP. XXXI. 1750.

"and he said that if they could have assembled "only 4,000 men he would publicly have put "himself at the head of them. He stayed there a "fortnight, and asserts that the Government never "had the least notice of it."

Some further details are supplied by Dr. King, the Principal of St. Mary's Hall at Oxford: "September 1750, I received a note from my Lady "Primrose, who desired to see me immediately. "As soon as I waited on her she led me into her "dressing-room, and presented me to the Prince. "If I was surprised to find him there, I was still "more astonished when he acquainted me with "the motives which had induced him to hazard "a journey to England at this juncture. The "impatience of his friends in exile had formed a "scheme which was impracticable. . . . I had some "long conversations with him. . . . . One evening "he came to my lodgings, and drank tea with "me. . . . . He was soon convinced that he "had been deceived, and therefore he returned "to the place from whence he came."*

There is another tale, which has more than once

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in 1758, elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Dying in 1762, his titles devolved on his distant cousin, Thomas Fane, great grandfather of the present Earl. (Collins' Peerage, vol. iii. p. 300.)

* Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 196. Dr. King limits the stay of Prince Charles in London to five days only; but, as we have seen, Charles himself, in 1783, (and this seems the better authority,) mentions a fortnight.

CHAP. XXXI.

1750.

been told, referring to the same romantic enterprise. The King, it is said, had received some secret tidings of it, and took an opportunity, a day or two afterwards, of inquiring from the Secretary of State where the Pretender might be at present. The Minister answered, that he would consult his last despatches from France.—"You may save your-"self the trouble," rejoined His Majesty, "for I "can tell you—he is now here in London."—The Minister started, and proposed that a Cabinet Council should be summoned.—"No," said the King, good humouredly; "leave him alone; "when the gentleman shall have looked about "him a little he will no doubt return quietly."—But all this story, circumstantial as it seems, is on closer examination overturned by a single fact. During the whole month of September 1750 King George was not in London, but at Hanover.*

Such is the last important enterprise that History has to record of Charles Edward Stuart. From this time forward he resigned himself to daily intoxication, as his refuge from harrowing thought; the noble qualities of his youth were lost in his degraded manhood; and he grew an object of contempt to his enemies, of sorrow to his friends.

It was the prevalence of disaffection at this period that produced a bold and unusual burst on

* Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 373—396.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

the part of Pitt. When, early in the next session, Pelham, with ill-judged economy, proposed a reduction in the number of seamen from 10,000 to 8,000—when he, as First Lord of the Treasury—when Fox, as Secretary at War—when Lord Barrington, as one of the Admiralty Board,—had spoken in defence of this motion, the House saw with surprise the Paymaster of the Forces rise and declare his vehement opposition to the proposal of his colleagues. That course he took with great firmness, but great regret. "My "fears of Jacobitism alone," said he, "have "induced me to differ upon this only point from "those with whom I am determined to lead my "life."—In the result, however, the reduction was carried, and the objector not dismissed.*

From the retreat of the pretended, we pass at once in the order of time to the death of the real, Prince of Wales. Frederick expired on the 20th of March 1751. His illness was at the outset but a slight cold, aggravated by neglect, and ending in pleurisy; there was also, as afterwards appeared, a gathering imposthume on his breast, which was ascribed to a blow which he had received

* Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 141., and Horace Walpole to Mann, February 9. 1751. Walpole adds malignantly: "The "key to this you will find in Pitt's whole behaviour; whenever "he wanted new advancement he used to go off. It will not "be surprising, if, though baffled, he still carries his point of "Secretary of State." But neither on this occasion nor on any other would I readily trust Horace Walpole as to motives; he is far too willing to impute the worst.

full two years back at a game of trap-ball. For some days the illness was thought serious; afterwards, however, it appeared to be passing away; and only half an hour before his decease no one had doubted his recovery. To his own family the bereavement was no less grievous than sudden; the Princess was left with eight children, and seven months pregnant of another. Clinging to the last gleams of hope, she remained in his room four hours after he was dead before she could be quite convinced of it. Prince George, a boy of twelve, showed deep emotion at the news; he turned pale, and laid his hand on his breast.—"I am afraid, Sir, you are "not well," said his tutor. He answered: "I feel "something here; just as I did when I saw the "two workmen fall from the scaffold at Kew!"* CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

So ill had been the terms on which the Prince had lived with his father and his brother, that they could scarcely be expected to feel any poignant sorrow for his loss. The King, however, showed a decent concern; the Duke of Cumberland, when the tidings were brought to him at Windsor, only turned to Lord Sandwich, and said with a sneer: "It is a great blow to this country, but I hope "it will recover it in time!"†

Through all the consequences of this important event, nothing could exceed in prudence and

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 1. 1751. See also Mr. Harris's letter to Sir Charles H. Williams of March 22. 1751.

† H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 68.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

propriety the conduct of the widowed Princess. Having been in the midst of her anguish borne to bed by her women at six in the morning, she rose again at eight, sent for Dr. Lee, and proceeded with him to burn all the Prince's papers, lest they should endanger any of his friends. Up to this time her principle of action had been duty to her husband; it now became solely duty to the King. To this principle she steadily adhered. She resigned herself altogether to his will and guidance, and discouraged all cabals in her little Court, while the King, on his part, touched and surprised by her demeanor, showed herself and her children great kindness, and even great affection. Prince George was created Prince of Wales; a sum of 50,000*l.* was settled on the Princess Dowager; Leicester House was assigned for their residence; and the new Household was nominated in concert with her wishes. Lord Harcourt, grandson of the Chancellor, was named his Governor; Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, Preceptor; Mr. Stone, Sub-Governor; and Mr. Scott, Sub-Preceptor. It was in vain that Lord Egmont attempted to keep up the Prince's party. Having convened it at his house the very morning after the Prince's death, when he preached harmony, he was answered: "Likely, indeed, we should all agree "now, when even the Prince could never bring "it about!"—and so every one went away to take care of himself. Lord Egmont remained an active chief of Opposition, but nearly all the

late Prince's servants became supporters of the Court.* CHAP. XXXI.

1751.

The heir apparent to a King of sixty-seven was now a Prince of twelve. "Who shall be Regent?" was then the question in every body's mouth; and the Duke of Cumberland, as next Prince of the Blood, deemed himself entitled to that office. The King's own wishes strongly tended to his favourite son. But the extreme alienation of the people from His Royal Highness might well have deterred any Minister from his appointment; far more a Minister so timid as Pelham. When the late Prince's death had been announced, and sung in ballads through the streets, great crowds had followed with the unfeeling cry: "Oh that it was but "his brother! Oh that it was but the butcher!" † On the other hand the Princess Dowager, who ever since her arrival in England, though placed in most trying circumstances, had never made an enemy nor committed an imprudence, had no lack of partisans to her pretensions. On the whole, therefore, the Administration, studious of offending neither King nor people, prudently determined on a middle course.

Early in May the anxiously expected Bill of Regency was brought by the Ministers into the House

* Dr. Lee called one day on Horace Walpole the younger, talked much of "the great and good part" the King had taken, and added that the Prince's servants could no longer oppose if they meant to be *consistent.*" "Pho!" said Mr. Chute, "he meant *subsistent!*" Walpole to Mann, April 22. 1751.

† Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 169.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

of Lords. It provided that in the event of the Royal decease before the Prince should attain the age of eighteen, the Princess Dowager should be both guardian of his person and Regent of the kingdom, but in the latter capacity acting only with the advice of a Council, composed of the Duke of Cumberland and the nine principal officers of state, as left by the King. The Bill passed the Lords with only two speakers (Stanhope and Talbot) and twelve voters against it; in the Commons it gave rise to vehement debates, and a minority of 90. We may feel surprise—if indeed any thing should surprise us in party struggles—to find a man so sagacious and experienced as Sir John Barnard declare that he did not think it necessary to settle a Regency before the event happened.* But the main ground taken by Barnard, by Speaker Onslow, and other members of the minority, was to oppose the whole scheme of restrictions, with some strong insinuations against the ambition, the power, and the undisguised hostility to the Princess of the intended President of her Council, the Duke of Cumberland. Mr. Pitt, by a new and most ingenious turn of the argument, combined his suspicion of the Duke with his support of the restrictions; he supported them, he said, lest the Princess should die, and the next Regent should claim, and from the precedent receive, full powers.† "Thus," he added, "a great person" (glancing at the Duke of

* Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 1042.

† Dodington's Diary, May 16. 1751.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

Cumberland) "might become sole Regent, when "ambition might excite him to think less of pro- "tecting than of wearing the Crown!" Mr. Fox, with great warmth, repelled this covert attack on his princely patron, and an unseemly altercation thus arose between two members of the same administration,— between the Paymaster General and the Secretary at War. The latter, much incensed, at length left the House without voting. Pelham, who had but slight authority over his own subalterns, ventured, however, on some gentle reproaches to Fox, telling him that he had not spoken like himself. "Had I indeed spoken like myself I "should have said ten times more against the Bill!" was the spirited reply of Fox.

The Duke of Cumberland himself, far from being gratified with his intended share of power, was deeply chagrined at not grasping the whole. When the Lord Chancellor first waited on him with the heads of the Bill he said sternly: "Re- "turn my thanks to the King for the plan of the "Regency. As to the part allotted to me I shall "submit to it, because he commands it!" This he afterwards desired Mr. Fox to repeat to Mr. Pelham, charging him not to soften the word "submit." The King himself was scarcely less mortified than the Duke. His remarks on the measure after its passing were addressed to Mr. Fox, and are recorded by Lord Orford: "I have a good opinion "of the Princess," said His Majesty, "but I do "not quite know her. . . . . A Council is necessary

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

"for her, even in cases of treason. Women are apt "to pardon; I myself am inclined to mercy. It "is better to have somebody to refuse for her. "As to the power of peace and war, I would never "declare either without consulting others. . . . . I "thank you, Mr. Fox, for the part you took. My "affection is with my son; I assure you, Mr. Fox, "I like you the better for wishing well to him. "The English nation is so changeable; I do not "know why they dislike him. It is brought about "by the Scotch, the Jacobites, and the English "that do not love discipline." *

The death of Frederick proved fatal to a measure with which it seemed to have no kind of connexion —a Bill for the General Naturalization of Foreign Protestants. Already, in 1708, had a Bill for that purpose passed into a law, but in 1711 the new Tory administration had repealed it. There was a false but favourite doctrine in those times, that the prosperity of a state must needs increase in the same ratio with its population.† In 1747 the proposal was renewed on a more special plea— the drain of population resulting from the war. Mr. Pelham had at first favoured the design, but took alarm at some threatened opposition, and caused it to be dropped. Now, another member,

* Lord Orford's Memoirs (or, as he affectedly spells them, "Memoires"), vol. i. p. 137.

† "La terre ne se lasse jamais de répandre ses biens. Plus "il y a d'hommes dans un pays, pourvu qu'ils soient laborieux, "plus ils jouissent de l'abondance." Telemaque, livre v.

Mr. Nugent, having introduced the Bill again, it was supported by the Government in general, although Mr. Fox joined Lord Egmont in opposing it, and in spite of a stubborn resistance it advanced to the third reading, which was fixed for the 20th of March, the very day of the Prince's death. At the tidings of that event it was, of course, like all other business, postponed, and during the interval petitions against it poured in from many quarters. The Common Council of London, above all, expressed its fears, lest, with such encouragements to immigration, the supply of labour might soon exceed the demand, and many industrious English workmen be thrown out of employment. It was part of Pelham's character to weigh, never the validity, but only the prevalence of any popular opinion. Thus, though altogether unconvinced, yet readily yielding, and cautious of fresh entanglements at that critical juncture, he withdrew his support, and allowed the Bill to fall.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

But the chief and most successful measure of the Session was the Reformation of the Calendar. The error of the Old Style, now grown to eleven days, had long since been corrected by most civilized nations, and acknowledged by all. Only England, with Russia and Sweden, clung to the exploded system, for no better reason, apparently, than because it was a Pope who established the new. "It was not, in my opinion," writes Chesterfield, "very honourable for England to remain in a

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

"gross and avowed error, especially in such com-"pany."* Accordingly, having first paved the way by some articles in periodical works †, he proceeded, in concert with the Earl of Macclesfield, Dr. Bradley, and other eminent men of science, to frame the heads of a Bill. He provided that the legal year should commence in future on the 1st of January, and not, as heretofore, on the 25th of March,—and that, to correct the Old Calendar, eleven nominal days should be suppressed in September 1752, so that the day following the 2d of that month should be styled the 14th. The difficulties that might result from the change, as affecting rents, leases, and bills of exchange, were likewise carefully considered and effectually prevented. With these provisions and safeguards the Bill was moved by Lord Chesterfield in a very able and seconded by Lord Macclesfield in a very learned speech,—and it was successfully carried through both Houses. Other particulars will be found in the character of Chesterfield which I have elsewhere endeavoured to portray, evincing both his exertions on this measure and its effects upon the public mind.‡

The close of this Session was marked by some Ministerial changes which had been long previously

* Letter to his Son, March 18. 1751.

† "He prepared the public for the intended change by "several essays in the *World*." (Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 178.) But had Coxe referred to the *World* he would have seen that the first number is not dated till January 4. 1753.

‡ See Vol. III. p. 507. second ed.

in preparation. For months, nay for years, had the Duke of Newcastle viewed with jealous eyes the high rank and equal pretensions of his brother Secretary of State, the Duke of Bedford, and panted to place in that office, not a colleague, but a cypher and a tool. In that age, moreover, the arrangement of business was such as to aggravate the coolness between the colleagues. Of the two Secretaries of State, the one held what was termed the Northern,—the other the Southern, —department. The one sent his instructions to Berlin or to Petersburg,—the other to Paris or Madrid,—instructions always distinct and unconnected, though often referring to the very same affairs. Such a system, to work well, required either a thorough friendship between the brother Secretaries, or an entire dependence of the one upon the other. "It was," says Lord John Russell, "as if two coachmen were on a box of the mail-"coach, one holding the right-hand rein,—the "other the left!" *

But besides this jealousy of Newcastle against Bedford—a jealousy that was in Newcastle's nature, and wholly independent of any demerit in the Duke—Mr. Pelham, with better reason, complained of Bedford's indolence and love of ease. "With him," he writes to his brother at Hanover, "it is all jollity, boyishness, and vanity; he per-"suades himself that riding post from London

* Note to Bedford Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 79.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

"to Woburn, and back again, once in a week or "fortnight, is doing a great deal of business, and that "nobody has a right to complain of his absence."* Nevertheless, when Newcastle, presuming on these expressions, set on foot a crooked cabal with Lady Yarmouth, so that Bedford might seem to be dismissed by the act of the King alone, and that the other Ministers might disown all share in it, Pelham, with higher honour, and dreading the increased strength of Opposition from the junction of Bedford, positively refused his concurrence. That refusal led to a coldness, nay, even for some time a complete estrangement, between the brothers. Each of them—and Pelham not insincerely—began to mutter some threats of resignation. This was also the spark to fire the long smothered rivalry between Pitt and Fox;—Pitt leaning on the friendship of Newcastle, and Fox on the friendship of Pelham. Thus, for example, in the debate on the number of seamen, the Duke hastened to express his approbation of the course which Pitt had pursued.† Soon afterwards, however, the exertions of some friends wrought an apparent reconciliation between the brother Ministers, and a few weeks later the Opposition lost its main strength and hope by the sudden death of the Prince of Wales.

* Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle, July 25. 1750. —Coxe's Pelham.

† Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 144. See also some acute remarks, and some severe, but I think unjust, strictures on Pitt, in the Quarterly Review, No. cxxxi. p. 214.

CHAP. XXXI. 1751.

Upon this event Pelham no longer felt the same repugnance or apprehension to shake off the Duke of Bedford, only postponing the design until after the close of the Session. The method adopted was first to dismiss Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty, Sandwich being so closely linked in friendship with Bedford, that the Duke's resignation was clearly foreseen as following the Earl's dismissal. And thus accordingly it happened. In filling up the vacant offices Newcastle was gratified with a colleague as supple and subservient as his heart could desire, in the Earl of Holderness, late Ambassador to Holland. Lord Anson was placed at the head of the Admiralty; and in return for the King's consent to these changes His Majesty was gratified with his favourite, Lord Granville, in the Presidency of the Council,—a post relinquished by the Duke of Dorset as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

Thus did Granville once more return to office,—the colleague of his old opponents. But the post of President is not further removed in importance from the seals of Secretary than the Earl Granville of 1751 had declined from the bold and buoyant Carteret of former days. His convivial habits had blunted the edge of his fine understanding, and his shattered health required repose, while his impaired estate stood in need of the emoluments of place. He had lost his spirit, his eloquence, his

* Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole of Wolterton, p. 380.

CHAP. XXXI.

1751. activity, nay, even—which so often survives them all—his ambition. His chief delight was now to enliven the Council table by his sallies of wit; and he remained during the rest of his life, though in office, the mere spectator of others' greatness—the mere ghost of his own.

On the 12th of December in this year died Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. To the last philosophy was the ornament of his discourses, but ambition the mainspring of his life. Only a few months before he had been secretly mingling with and in some degree directing the cabals of the Prince of Wales, and eagerly planning his own advancement in the peerage. His great anxiety seemed to be that he might die an Earl. Yet in the progress of a painful and at length fatal disease he showed a far higher degree of courage and firmness than might have been expected from a spirit which rested not on hopes of immortality.

1752. In the Recess, the Pelham brothers did not relax their hold of power, nor could the Opposition repair its shattered strength. Thus the ensuing Session is styled by a contemporary, "perhaps the "most unanimous ever known."* The main difficulty was, the Saxon subsidy. By a recent treaty Newcastle had agreed to pay the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, the annual sum of 32,000*l.* for four years,—all for his vote at the expected election of a King of the Romans. Other

* Tindal's Hist., vol. ix. p. 444.

treaties of subsidy with Treves, with Cologne, with the Palatine, were clearly seen in prospect. Yet had Pelham, as the elder Horace Walpole ventured to remind him, given a solemn pledge in formerly proposing the Bavarian subsidy that it should be the last of its kind. It seemed strange that the Court of St. James's (let us rather here call it of Hanover) should be far more forward and eager in this cause than the Court of Vienna.* It seemed hard that the ultimate object in question—the security of the Germanic empire and of the German Princes themselves, could only be obtained by payments and promises to these very German Princes. Hard as it seemed, however, no more than 54 Members of Parliament were found to vote against it. But some expressions that fell in the debate from Pelham should not pass unnoticed.—Arguing in favour of treaties of alliance, he added: "I "must declare that in my opinion it would be im- "possible for us by ourselves alone to support a "war of any continuance against the united power "of France and Spain."† Little did Pelham think that at this very time there sat beside him one, in his own administration, though not deemed worthy of his Cabinet, who would not only brave the combined hostility of France and Spain, but make those haughty powers to quail before the British name!

* "The Austrians themselves thought the measure of little "consequence." (Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 43.)

† Parl. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 1134.

CHAP. XXXI. 1752.

Another discreditable business with which the House of Commons became entangled in this Session, as in the last, was not of the Minister's seeking, but of its own. There had been in 1749 a vacancy for Westminster, when Lord Trentham, son of Earl Gower, had accepted a place at the Board of Admiralty, and Sir George Vandeput had opposed his Lordship in his re-election. Trentham had been returned, but Vandeput had demanded a scrutiny; when, after much delay and expense, the original decision was confirmed. In the course of these proceedings the High Bailiff, being examined at the Bar of the House, denounced as one of the persons who had obstructed and insulted him in the discharge of his duty the Honourable Alexander Murray. Witnesses were immediately summoned in corroboration of the charge. "I never," writes Dodington, "saw an accusation "worse supported by any thing but numbers."* But these numbers were forward and eager in their hostility, Mr. Murray's brother, Lord Elibank, being obnoxious to them, as one of the most noted Jacobites in Scotland. They voted that Murray should be confined a close prisoner in Newgate, and should receive his sentence on his knees. Against this last indignity, however, the high spirit of the Scottish gentleman rose. "Sir," he answered, "I never kneel but to God. . . . . When I "have committed a crime I kneel to God for par-

* Diary, February 6. 1751.

" don, but, knowing my own innocence, I can kneel " to no one else." * CHAP. XXXI. 1752.

This refusal inflamed to the highest pitch the resentment of his accusers. Even Onslow, the Speaker, who had hitherto seemed inclined to lenient measures, now earnestly exhorted the House to uphold its privileges. Some members even went so far as to propose that Murray should be confined in a dungeon of the Tower called "Little Ease;" so called because it was too small for the prisoner to stand upright or to lie at length. But Pelham, much to his honour, stood firm against a proposal worthy of a savage people or of the dark ages. It was at length resolved that Murray should go to Newgate under the closest restrictions, debarred from the use of pen, ink, and paper, the attendance of his servant, or the visits of his friends. Only two days after, the House, by one of those sudden whirls to which all popular assemblies are prone, turned to the opposite course of compassion,—admitted Murray's plea of sickness, —and allowed his friends' visits, with almost every other indulgence. At the close of the Session he was of course, according to law, set free. He passed through the City in triumphal procession, attended by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and a numerous train of exulting followers.—But on the very first day of the next Session, the thirst for punishment burning anew in the House of

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 24.

CHAP. XXXI. 1752.

Commons, a motion for Murray's re-committal was immediately put and carried. It was found, however, that he had withdrawn from the reach of their resentment by retiring beyond sea. And thus ended this ridiculous transaction;—so far, at least, as tyranny can ever be ridiculous.

I may observe, in passing, that throughout the reign of George the Second the privileges of the House of Commons flourished in the rankest luxuriance. On one occasion it was voted a breach of privilege to have "killed a great number of rabbits" from the warren of Lord Galway, a member.* Another time, the fish of Mr. Jolliffe were honoured with a like august protection. † The same never-failing shield of privilege was thrown before the trees of Mr. Hungerford ‡, the coals of Mr. Ward §, and the lead of Sir Robert Grosvenor. ¶ The persons of one Member's porter and of another Member's footman were held to be as sacred and inviolable as the persons of the Members themselves. ‖ It would be neither a brief nor yet a pleasing task to enumerate all the cases of the kind which in that reign the Journals of the House of Commons display. So long as men in authority are enabled to go beyond the law, on the plea of their own dignity and power, the only limit to

* Journals, March 20. 1739.
† Ibid., March 19. 1753.
‡ Ibid., April 4. 1744.
§ Ibid., May 18. 1733.
¶ Ibid., April 2. 1733.
‖ Ibid., December 13. 1742, and December 10. 1743. See also Mr. Hallam's Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 378. ed. 1832.

their encroachments will be that of the public endurance. Yet we may perhaps not unfairly conclude that these cases were in reality less flagrant and oppressive than at first sight they seem to be, since we find that far less apparent grievances have raised a far higher and more general resentment. CHAP. XXXI. 1752.

The lull of political tempests during this year in Parliament did not extend to Leicester House. The new titular did not well agree with the effective servants; the Earl and Bishop—the Governor and the Preceptor—had soon begun to bicker with the Sub-Governor and the Sub-Preceptor, Scott and Stone. Scott had been appointed before the Prince's death by the late Lord Bolingbroke's influence, and Stone was suspected or at least accused of Jacobite partialities. The Princess Dowager once in a confidential conversation gave her opinion of them all as follows: "Stone is a sensible man, "and capable of instructing in things as well as in "books. Lord Harcourt and the Prince agree "very well, but I think that he cannot learn much "from his Lordship. Scott, in my judgment, is a "very proper Preceptor; but as to the good Bishop "he may be, and I suppose he is, a mighty learned "man, but he does not seem to me very proper to "convey knowledge to children; he has not that "clearness which I think necessary. I do not "very well comprehend him myself; his thoughts "seem to be too many for his words." * These

* Dodington's Diary, October 15. 1752.

CHAP. XXXI.

views of Her Royal Highness in favour of Scott and Stone were confirmed by her Secretary, Cresset, a skilful courtier. At length the Earl and Bishop, finding themselves little heeded in the Household, resigned in disgust. As their successors, the King appointed Bishop Thomas of Peterborough, and Earl Waldegrave, the son of the late Ambassador at Paris. Neither much harm nor much good can be said of Thomas. Waldegrave had no oratorical or Parliamentary abilities, but his worth and probity were acknowledged by all his contemporaries, and his Memoirs are still remaining to attest his sense and shrewdness.

1752.

The hostility of Stone's enemies was only the more inflamed by the steady support of the Princess. Early next year the charge of Jacobite principles was publicly brought against him, including in the charge Murray, the Solicitor General. Both of them, it was alleged, used, as young men, some twenty years before, to meet at supper with one Fawcett, an attorney, and drink the Pretender's health upon their knees. The matter was mentioned in Parliament, and tried by the Privy Council. Fawcett himself, as the accuser, underwent several examinations; in each he gave a different version of his story, and in the last he refused to sign his depositions. On the other hand, Murray and Stone declared their innocence upon their oaths. Thus the Privy Council found no difficulty in deciding, and reporting to the King, that the

1753.

whole charge was malicious and unfounded.* It was no doubt proper to guard against any heretical tenets either of Church or State in the preceptor of the Prince of Wales. Yet there seems something irresistibly ludicrous in the apprehensions then so gravely urged, lest the heir of the House of Hanover should be trained in Jacobite principles. Imagine—as in fact a great modern writer has imagined—some newspaper of that period hinting its fears that "the young King "himself might be induced to become one of the "Stuarts' faction—a catastrophe from which it "has hitherto pleased Heaven to preserve these "kingdoms!"†

Soon after this period, however, all other persons and all other topics at Leicester House were cast into the shade by the rising and gigantic influence of John Stuart, Earl of Bute. Hitherto this nobleman had not enjoyed—nor apparently even aimed at—political distinction. In private life he had borne a blameless character, having married in 1736 the only daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, an excellent wife and mother, with whom he had quietly resided at his seat of Caen Wood near London, and moderately and prudently, yet

* Lord Dover very justly observes: "This insignificant and "indeed ridiculous accusation is magnified by Walpole, both "in his Letters and Memoirs, in consequence of the hatred he "bore to the persons accused." Note to the Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, vol. iii. p. 35.

† Sir Walter Scott.—Conclusion to *Redgauntlet.*

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

not parsimoniously, maintained a large family from a scanty income.* In 1750 he had received an appointment in the household of Prince Frederick, who used frequently to say: "Bute is a fine "showy man, and would make an excellent Am- "bassador in any Court where there was no busi- "ness." † But he was little noticed by the public until it was perceived that the widowed Princess honoured him with her highest trust and confidence. So sudden an elevation, in a scandal-loving age, produced, as might have been foreseen, rumours by no means favourable to the fame of the Princess. Such rumours in such a case are always easy to circulate, and hard to disprove. Without attaching the slightest weight to them, it must, however, be owned that the abilities of Bute were by no means such as to justify his rapid rise. He had indeed several elegant accomplishments, some taste for literature, and some knowledge of science. But he could gain no reputation either in council or debate. Proud and sensitive in his temper, he was easily elated, and as easily depressed, and ill qualified for the fierce encounters of the political Arena. Like most men flushed by power unexpected and unearned, the people thought him prone to arbitrary measures as apparently the shortest road to his objects. Besides the resentment which such tendencies, real or supposed, commonly create, he had

* See Lady Mary Wortley's letters of July 17. 1748, and July 17. 1758.

† Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 36.

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

but little skill in conciliating adherents, being, at least to his inferiors, cold, reserved, and haughty in his manners. Whatever the subject, whether grave or trifling, he was equally slow and solemn in his tone. Once as he was speaking in the House of Lords, and as the words fell from him one by one, his kinsman, Charles Townshend, who was present, could not forbear exclaiming, "Minute Guns!"

The Session of 1753 was distinguished by two important Acts; the first, to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by Parliament; the second, for the better preventing Clandestine Marriages. The first did not pass without some sharp debates, nor without a general ferment in the country. It was urged that such facilities to the Jews would tend to dishonour the Christian faith—to promote the purchase of advowsons by unbelievers, thus leading at length to the downfal of the Church—to deluge the kingdom with usurers, brokers, and beggars—to rob the lower classes of their birth-right by foreign and undue competition with their labour. Nay, more; several persons did not scruple to argue that such an Act was directly to fly in the face of the prophecy which declares that the Jews shall be a scattered people, without country or fixed abode. These expounders of Scripture did not consider, that if such a prediction has really, in the sense in which they understood it, been made in Holy Writ, it is not in the power of any man or any body of men by any act of theirs to falsify it. Still less were they

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

imbued with the sentiment which was nobly expressed by Lyttleton in one of these debates: "He "who hates another man for not being a Christian "is himself not a Christian!"*

The ferment, however, once raised amongst the people, was headlong and unreasoning. "No "Jews! No Jews! No Wooden Shoes!" became a favourite cry—or, as many thought, a weighty argument. Thus, for example, a vote in behalf of this Bill lost Mr. Sydenham all support from his constituents at Exeter. It was in vain that he published a hand-bill denying that he had any predilection for the Jewish doctrines, and pleading, in proof, that he had often travelled on Saturdays.† In the diocese of Norwich the Bishop, having supported the measure, was insulted throughout all his ensuing circuit for confirmation. At Ipswich, especially, the boys followed his Lordship in the streets, calling on him to come and make them Jews, according to the usual Jewish rite; and a paper was affixed to one of the church doors, to state that the next day, being Saturday, his Lordship would confirm the Jews, and on the day following the Christians.‡ Bishops, in fact, were the especial aim of the popular outcry; a pamphlet of some note in that day goes so far as to assert that "the "present set of prelates is the only one since the

* Parl. History, vol. xv. p. 130.

† Rev. Dr. Birch to the Hon. Philip Yorke. September 29. 1753. Hardwicke Papers.

‡ The same to the same, June 23. 1753.

" time of Christ that would have countenanced so " anti-Christian a measure."* In short, so loud and general were the murmurs against this enactment that the Ministers determined to recede from it. On the very first day of the next Session the Duke of Newcastle brought in a Bill for its repeal, and this Bill was rapidly carried through both Houses. CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

The Marriage Act was rendered necessary by the uncertainty of the law. Several instances of great hardship and oppression resulting from that uncertainty had lately been disclosed—instances of persons living together as husband and wife for many years, and becoming the parents of a numerous family, until it suddenly appeared, to the father's astonishment, that he had formerly entangled himself with certain forms which amounted to a pre-contract, and which dissolved his subsequent marriage. Such cases could scarcely take place without some imprudence at the least on the part of one or sometimes both the parents; but in the result their innocent offspring became branded with bastardy, and shut out from inheritance. On the other hand, from the facilities of solemnizing a marriage at the spur of the moment, young heirs and heiresses, scarcely grown out of infancy, were often inveigled to unwary and disgraceful matches, which they had to repent, but unavailingly, during the remainder of their lives. To profit by their

* " An Answer to the Considerations on the Jews' Bill," October 1753. Ascribed to Mr. Romaine.

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

indiscretion there was ever ready a band of degraded and outcast clergymen, prisoners for debt or for crime, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet Prison, soliciting customers, and plying like porters for employment. These men were willing to perform the required ceremony, without question, licence, or delay, in cellars or in garrets, in alehouses or in brothels, to the scandal of religion and to the ruin of families. One of these wretches, named Keith, had gained a kind of pre-eminence of infamy. On being told that there was a scheme on foot to stop his lucrative traffic, he declared, with many oaths, that he would still be revenged of the Bishops;—that he would buy a piece of ground and outbury them! *

One of the crying evils of this system having come prominently before the House of Peers on a case of Appeal, Lord Bath moved that the framing of a legislative remedy should be referred to the twelve Judges. The Bill, however, which they brought in proved to be fraught with difficulties and defects. The Lord Chancellor was compelled to remould it, and then with parental fondness adopted the bantling as his own. It enacted that banns for every marriage should be for three successive Sundays published in the parish church —that licences, dispensing with banns, but still requiring the marriage in the parish church, should

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 295. Keith used to marry on an average 6,000 couples every year (Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 19.)

not be granted to a minor without the consent of the parent or the guardian — that the power of granting special licences to perform the ceremony at any place or any hour should still be reserved to the Archbishop, but guarded from abuse by his discretion, and from frequency by a heavy payment in each case — that any marriage solemnized contrary to the provisions of this law should be null and void — and that the person solemnizing it should be liable to transportation for seven years. Lord Hardwicke's Bill (for so it was now termed) passed the House of Peers after a faint opposition from the Duke of Bedford, but in the Commons encountered a more formidable adversary in Mr. Fox, whose zeal in opposing it was quickened, perhaps, by the recollection of his own clandestine marriage with Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond.* Many others joined in the outcry without sharing the motive. And, as too often happens in our history, predictions which appear most extravagant after the result were thought most judicious before it. Some members feared lest all the wealth of the country should by constant intermarriages be confined to a small knot of grasping families. Others declared that the checks and delays imposed upon the marriage ceremony would soon tend to its disuse, and that the bulk of the people would have only an illegitimate posterity. Fox went even

* Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 269

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

further; he seems to have dreaded that they would have no posterity at all! "It will endanger," he said, "our very existence, for without a continual "supply of industrious and laborious poor no nation "can long exist, which supply can be got only by "promoting marriage among such people!"*

A more lively attack upon the Bill was made in the same debate by Charles Townshend, a young man now first rising into public notice. He was second son of Lord Townshend, a grandson of the Secretary of State under George the First, and a grand-nephew of the Duke of Newcastle. Though at this time but twenty-eight years of age he had already distinguished himself in office at the Board of Trade. "His figure," says Horace Walpole, "was tall and advantageous, his action vehement, "his voice loud,—his laugh louder." In eloquence he gradually rose to a high and, to the period of his untimely end, still growing renown. His application was great,—his ambition unbounded. No man had more quickness of wit, or less reserve in displaying it, whether in familiar conversation or public debate. But it was not free from that drawback by which great wit is so commonly attended, a fickleness and unsteadiness of purpose, as rather attracted by the varying gleams upon the surface than held fast by the settled foundations of truth and conviction.

In this debate upon the Marriage Bill Charles

* Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 69.

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

Townshend drew a picture, with more humour than discretion, of himself and his own situation, as the younger son of a capricious father, who had already debarred him from one advantageous match. "Are "new shackles to be forged," said he, "to keep "young men of abilities from rising to a level with "their elder brothers?"*—I may remark, in passing, that the Bill proved no such obstruction in the way of Townshend's own career. Only a year afterwards he espoused a wealthy Dowager from the House of Buccleuch—the Countess of Dalkeith.

The Bill finally passed, but not without much unseemly recrimination between two official colleagues —the Secretary at War and the Lord High Chancellor. Fox had become so far heated by his own opposition to the measure as to declaim once or twice against the chicanery and jargon of lawyers, and against the pride of their Mufti—by which term he hinted at Hardwicke. He afterwards showed a willingness to recall or soften these unguarded expressions. But Hardwicke, haughty with conscious merit, and the long possession of power, disdained such tardy repentance. He seized the opportunity when the Bill returned from the Commons with some amendments to pour forth —almost by name—a bitter philippic against Fox. "For my part," he cried, "I despise the "invectiye, I despise the apology, and I reject the

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 296.

CHAP. XXXI. 1753.

"adulation!"—Fox was not present, having gone that evening with some ladies to Vauxhall. But he was there informed what had passed, when, breaking from his fair companions, and gathering around him a little circle of young Members of Parliament and others, told them, with great warmth, that he wished the Session had continued only a fortnight longer, as he would then have made ample returns to the Lord Chancellor's speech! *

But the business of the Session was already concluded, and on the very next day (June 7th) the Parliament was prorogued by the King in person. It may deserve notice, as a singularity of these times, that no sooner had His Majesty left the Throne than a female Quaker, who was present to see the show, commenced a sermon on the vanity of dress, and was suffered to preach a full half hour.†

It would be unjust, however, to let pass this Session without commemorating the signal service it afforded to Art, Learning, and Science by the foundation of the British Museum. Three collections already existing were now blended into one—first the Cottonian, which had been formed by a laborious antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, in the reign of Charles the First, and been purchased by the Crown in the reign of Anne—secondly the Sloane, due to the taste and care of Sir Hans Sloane, an

* Rev. Dr. Birch to the Hon. P. Yorke, June 9. 1753. Hardwicke Papers.

† Gentleman's Magazine, July 1753.

eminent physician, and President of the Royal Society, who, dying in January 1753, bequeathed his rarities of every kind to the nation, on the payment, if agreed to, of 20,000*l.* to his heirs—thirdly, the HARLEIAN, which had amused and dignified the leisure of Lord Treasurer Oxford, and which his grand-daughter, the Duchess of Portland, now offered to the public for 10,000*l.*, a sum like that claimed by Sir Hans, far below the real value of the objects. A suitable repository for these combined collections was found in Montagu House, the Duke of Montagu having died in 1749, without male heirs, and his mansion being offered for sale. Pelham, much to his honour, showed himself zealous in promoting the proposal, while another Member of Parliament—a professed friend of letters—Horace Walpole—deemed it too trifling for even the slightest mention in his ponderous Memoirs. The necessary sums were raised by lotteries under an Act of Parliament, and the Museum thus formed has ever since continued to thrive and grow—sometimes by accessions liable to censure, as by the Elgin spoils of Athens—more frequently by well-directed private skill and public munificence. Its administration, according to the original Act, was vested in certain trustees, partly official, partly representing the families of the founders, and partly elected; a system which still continues, and which, provided due care be always shown in the elections, will probably be found, upon the whole, more satisfactory than any other.

CHAP. XXXI.

1753. In this year another life—but, as it proved, the last—fell a sacrifice to the Stuart cause; it was Lochiel's brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron's. His learning, his humanity, the excellence, in all respects, of his private character, were acknowledged even by his enemies. He had come from the Continent in disguise, to recover a sum of money which Prince Charles had left behind in Moidart at his embarkation. But the Government suspected, and not unreasonably, some deeper motive to his journey—a conspiracy among the Jacobites at home—or a mission from the King of Prussia. Cameron was discovered, seized, and imprisoned in the Tower; then brought to trial, and condemned to death under his previous attainder. On the 7th of June he was hanged at Tyburn. He met his fate as became the brother of Lochiel—with fortitude and courage, blended with a tender concern and affection for his family. For himself, the ignominy of Tyburn, then usually reserved for the lowest malefactors, seemed to be his only pang: he looked with a steady eye on the other cruel appurtenances of a traitor's doom in that age—on the dresser who stood prepared to rip open his body—on the fire ready kindled to burn his bowels! *

1754. The next Session was the seventh, and of course the last, of this Parliament. Its proceedings were few, and these mainly directed to the approaching

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, June 12. 1753.

dissolution.—Sir John Barnard moved, but without success, to repeal the Act requiring electors to take the Bribery Oath, if demanded, before they are admitted to poll; "for," said Sir John, "experience "shows that such oaths are of no avail; in imposing "them, we do not check the guilt of corruption; "we only superadd the guilt of perjury." A further trial of fourscore years has fully confirmed the truth of these remarks; yet an oath against bribery bears an aspect so fair and plausible that it still retains its hold upon the Legislature and its place in the Statute Book. CHAP. XXXI. 1754.

This calm and languid course of public business was suddenly broken through by an event equally unexpected and important—the death of the Prime Minister. Mr. Pelham was but sixty years of age, and of a florid healthy constitution. But while his office precluded exercise, his habits wanted temperance. Eating immoderately as he used at dinner, he contracted a scorbutic disorder, for which in the preceding summer he had gone to bathe at Scarborough. But the sea-air had sharpened his appetite, and his friends whom he went to visit by the way pampered it. He returned worse than he went, and suffered from a succession of boils and fevers; nevertheless, in the winter he was thought completely recovered. On the 7th of January he wrote to his brother: "I am "now, thank God, as well as ever I was in my life."*

* Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 495. See also H. Walpole's letter to Sir H. Mann, March 7. 1754.

CHAP. XXXI. 1754.

Yet on the 3d of March he again fell sick, and on the morning of the 6th he was a corpse!

The death of Pelham dissolved the frail and yet effectual tie that had bound together so many restless and jarring spirits. "Now I shall have no "more peace!"—exclaimed the old King when he heard the news*—and the events of the next few years fully confirmed His Majesty's prediction.

* Coxe's Pelham, vol. ii. p. 302.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

At the tidings of his brother's death—a death so sudden and unlooked for—the mind of Newcastle was stirred with the contending emotions of grief, fear, and ambition. The grief soon passed away—but the fear and the ambition long struggled for the mastery. Impelled by the latter, he determined to place himself at the head of the Treasury, and to select for his Chancellor of the Exchequer Henry Legge, son of the Earl of Dartmouth, a good inoffensive man of business, with a taste for quiet humour.* But the lead of the House of Commons was not in like manner to be granted by court-favour, or enjoyed by unambitious mediocrity. At that time only three men appeared entitled by talent or reputation to claim the prize, Pitt, Fox, and Murray.

The character of Pitt I have elsewhere fully

* This taste is certainly not apparent in any speeches or published letters of Legge. But I observe that Horace Walpole, though no friend of his, terms him the "epigrammatic Chancellor of the Exchequer," and talks of his "arch gravity." (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 336.)

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

portrayed.* I need only add that his conduct in office as Paymaster of the Forces had deserved and obtained the public admiration by its rare disinterestedness. Until his time it was usual for the Paymaster to retain the floating balance—not less than 100,000*l.*—at his own disposal, and to convert the yearly interest accruing from it to his own profit. Pitt, on the contrary, placed the balance in the Bank of England for the public service, and declined to receive one farthing beyond his legal salary. In like manner it had been customary for foreign Princes who formed Subsidiary Treaties with England to remit a small per-centage, commonly one half per cent., as a fee to the Paymaster. These emoluments also Pitt steadily refused. "As "Parliament," said he, "has granted the whole "sums for such uses, I have no right to any part "of the money." †

Henry Fox was younger son of Sir Stephen Fox, and brother of the first Earl of Ilchester. The year 1705 is assigned for his birth; and his education, as Lord Chesterfield tells us, was conducted on Jacobite principles. Of his youth nothing is recorded beyond wild and reckless dissipation. His fortune, never a large one, was greatly impaired if not altogether lavished in gambling, which rendered needful for some time his absence abroad. On his return he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole,

* Vol. III. p. 14—29. second ed.

† Life of the Earl of Chatham, vol. i. p. 101. ed. 1792.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

and obtained the place of Surveyor at the Board of Works. In 1743 he became a Lord of the Treasury, and in 1746 Secretary at War.* His abilities both for business and debate were gradually, and therefore, perhaps, the more surely, formed. For both he could have found no better master than Walpole. But Sir Robert's school was the very worst for a man of such loose principles as Fox; and Sir Robert, who was always jesting at the "young patriots," and speaking of himself "as no saint, no Spartan, no reformer," while yet really studious of the public welfare and glory, gave too much encouragement by his language and his laughter to those who had only their own profit in view. A contemporary of Fox, and a most clear-sighted one, thus speaks of him: "He "had not the least notion of or regard for the "public good or the constitution, but despised "those cares as the objects of narrow minds." † By an accomplished writer of our own times, connected in personal friendship and in public principles with Fox's grandson, Fox is termed "a "political adventurer" ‡, and such in truth appears to have been his real character. On the other hand, he was affectionate in his domestic relations, while constant good humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life.

* Coxe's Life of Lord Walpole of Wolterton, p. 409.

† Lord Chesterfield's Characters.

‡ Edinburgh Review, No. 148. p. 562. By the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, and since published in his collected Essays.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

To the public he inspired no confidence; but by degrees he attached to himself a considerable band of followers in Parliament, and came to be regarded, especially by the remains of the Walpole squadron, as the natural and legitimate heir of Pelham in the Ministry. This prospect, however, so far as it depended on party favour, he had a little impaired by his impatience during Pelham's lifetime — appearing eager to snatch at the succession, instead of waiting coolly till it dropped into his hands. We shall find, however, as we proceed, that, though not unambitious of power, profit and emolument were his favourite, his ruling objects — a disposition which, in his case, might admit of some excuse from his tenderness to his young and ill-provided family. In business he was clear, manly, and decisive. For oratory he had few natural advantages, either of person or of manner. His figure was heavy and thick set, his countenance dark and lowering — insomuch as to be sometimes taunted with it in debate. Thus, on one occasion, Pitt, most unwarrantably, though, it must be owned, after strong provocation, exclaimed, in allusion to Fox's looks, that he for his own part "should be ashamed "to hide his head as if he had murdered some-"body under a hedge."* The elocution of Fox is described by Chesterfield as hesitating and ungraceful — defects from which even that great orator, his son, was by no means free. But, in

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 159.

both, though of course far most in the latter, these defects were overborne by sense, by wit, by discernment, by great aptness of illustration, by great readiness of retort. "His best speeches," says Lord Waldegrave of Henry Fox, "are neither long "nor premeditated; quick and concise replication "is his peculiar excellence."* On the whole, looking to all the circumstances of the time, he might have filled a great part in the history of his country had his character borne any proportion to his talents.

William Murray is best known by his well-won title as Earl of Mansfield. The exact date of his birth does not seem to be recorded; yet he was of noble lineage, the fourth son of the fifth Lord Stormont in Scotland. The bias of his family had been strongly Jacobite, and one of his brothers was, as Earl of Dunbar, Secretary of State to the Pretender. Thus in the course of Mansfield's own brilliant career—amidst the envious pack which is ever yelping at the heels of genius—he was frequently suspected, and still more frequently accused, of a disloyal feeling to the House of Hanover. Neither by word or deed, however, did he give any ground for such an imputation.—His education at Westminster School and Christ Church College had made him an accomplished scholar. It was his habit to translate many of Cicero's Orations into English, and after an interval back again into

* Memoirs, p. 25.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

Latin.* On leaving Oxford he applied himself to the study of the law, and in 1731 was called to the Bar. For several years he languished without practice. Nor did he prosper in another suit which he addressed at this time to a wealthy heiress. But at length a case of appeal before the House of Lords, and a speech delivered by him on that occasion †, brought him all at once into light. Business upon this opening rapidly poured in, so that in after life he was heard to say that he never had known any interval between the total want of employment and the receipt of 3,000*l.* a year. An opportunity also presented itself at the outbreak of the war with Spain of displaying his powers of political oratory at the Bar of the House of Commons ‡; and a few years later the fall of Walpole paved the way for his appointment as Solicitor General. From this period until his death—a period of half a century—he enjoyed the highest reputation as a lawyer. As a speaker in the House of Commons he soon rose into distinction. He could not indeed

* Character in Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 386. ed. 1804. Of that character Mr. Charles Butler in his Reminiscences (vol. i. p. 125.) has declared himself the author.

† It was to this that Pope alluded:

"Graced as thou art with all the power of words,
"So known, so honoured, at the House of Lords."

The second line was much criticised as an instance of the *bathos*, and the whole couplet was parodied as follows by Colley Cibber:

"Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks,
"And he has chambers in the King's Bench Walks!"

‡ See the Second Volume of this History, p. 402. second ed.

wield the thunderbolts of Pitt, nor thread the mazes of argument in reply with all the readiness of Fox; but his style was always clear, specious, and, even before he was a judge, judicial. He excelled in the statement of a case. It was his habit, as we learn from an ear-witness, to speak slowly, sounding distinctly every syllable of every word.* His tones (though even to the last denoting his northern descent) have seldom been rivalled for sweetness; his action was graceful, his countenance expressive. Even in his younger years his powers of humour were extolled by Pope, who, in describing a dull pedant of a barrister, makes him "shake his head "at Murray as a wit." These powers of humour, which were then confined to his social circle, shone forth no less at the Bar—on the floor of the House of Commons—and sometimes, less aptly, on the Bench. As a judge several lawyers have also objected to him, that "he introduced too much "equity into his Court;"—a reproach which, until they explain it, sounds like a satire on their own profession. But if from the accomplishments we pass to the real defects of this eminent man, we shall find, perhaps, that in public life he wanted warmth of heart. His wariness and caution were carried to the very verge—or beyond the verge—of timidity. Steadily fixing his eye on his professional objects, as he had a just right to do, he was not to be turned from them by the strongest

* Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 390.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

allurements of personal ambition, or the most pressing exigency of public affairs. To have not once committed an imprudence seems high praise—and that praise is Lord Mansfield's due—yet I doubt whether that praise ever yet belonged through life to the very first order of minds.

Of these three rivals in eminence at the time of Pelham's death, Pitt was disliked by the King for his old anti-Hanoverian philippics, and dreaded by Newcastle for his aspiring mind. Moreover, he was just then disabled by gout at Bath.—Murray let fall a timely hint that the judicial Bench was his ultimate object of ambition.—A general unpopularity, and a recent quarrel with the Chancellor, were strong objections to Fox. Nevertheless, all things weighed, it was with Fox that Newcastle determined to open a negotiation. He offered to him through the Marquis of Hartington, as a common friend, the Seals of Secretary and the lead of the House of Commons, reserving to himself the disposal of the Secret Service Money, but engaging that Fox should be exactly informed of the payments which he made from it. There is too much reason to believe that this Fund—not as yet guarded from abuse by an official oath, and still more by the higher tone of public morals—was at that period employed in corrupt gifts or "gratifications" to Members of Parliament.

The offers of Lord Hartington were accepted. Fox agreed to meet Newcastle on the ensuing day, and complete the arrangements on the basis pro-

posed. But short as was the interval it proved too long for steadiness in the veteran Ducal intriguer. He began anxiously to revolve in his mind whether he might not still secure the assistance of Fox, while yielding to him a smaller share of power. Accordingly, at the interview next day, he refused to stand by his own terms, and endeavoured to chaffer for less.* Not daring in the presence of Lord Hartington to deny his words, he first at tempted to palliate, explain, and excuse them;—that his anxiety of mind and grief for the loss of his brother had quite disordered his memory;—that perhaps he might have expressed his meaning in improper words, but that certainly he had never intended so large a concession. "My brother," added he, "never disclosed to any one how he "employed the Secret Service Money; no more "will I." But the cases were by no means parallel. Pelham had been, not merely First Lord of the Treasury, but leader of the House of Commons. This distinction was urged in vain by Fox upon the Duke. "If I am kept in ignorance of "this," said he, "how shall I be able to talk to "Members, when some may have received grati-"fications, and others not?"—And then, continuing the conversation, "Who," he asked, "is to have "the nomination to places?" Newcastle replied: "I myself."—"But who," pursued Fox, "is to

* The details of this singular and important conversation are to be gathered in part from Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs (p. 19.), and in part from Lord Orford's (vol. i. p. 331.)

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

"have the recommendation?"—"Any Member of "the House of Commons," answered the Duke. Fox next proceeded to inquire as to the filling up of the Ministerial boroughs at the approaching Dissolution. The Duke said, "My brother has settled "it all with Lord Duplin."—"Not all," said Fox, and he named some yet vacant boroughs; but Newcastle cut him short by repeating peevishly that all was settled.

The expectant Secretary of State withdrew from the conference, baffled and angry, yet irresolute. On consulting Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the younger Horace Walpole, and others of his friends, he found them strongly against his undertaking the management of the House of Commons on such terms. He therefore wrote to Newcastle, requesting to withdraw his name from the proffered post as Secretary of State, but promising his continued services as Secretary at War. Probably he expected a renewal of the treaty on the former foundation. But the Duke, gaining courage by degrees, hoped that the mere offer might be sufficient to satisfy his party, and that a mere tool might now answer his purpose as his deputy in the House of Commons. Accordingly he hastened to take Fox at his word, and bestow the Seals of Secretary upon Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull, uncouth, yet complying man,—a fit colleague for Holderness,—who had gained some diplomatic knowledge from his mission to Vienna, and who was welcome to the King from his German politics.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

But "he was ignorant," says Lord Waldegrave, "even of the language of an House of Commons "controversy; and when he played the orator, "which he too frequently attempted, it was so "exceedingly ridiculous that those who loved and "esteemed him could not always preserve a friendly "composure of countenance." * It was certainly no light or easy task which the Duke of Newcastle had thus accomplished—he had succeeded in finding a Secretary of State with abilities inferior to his own.

A few other promotions followed. The Lord Chancellor was raised to an Earldom; and advantage was taken of Sir Dudley Ryder's advancement to the Bench to make Murray, instead of Solicitor, Attorney, General. Places were also found for Sir George Lyttleton and George Grenville—mainly perhaps as friends of Pitt.

Letters explanatory and apologetical now went forth to Pitt at Bath, both from Hardwicke and from Newcastle. His own feelings will best be judged by some words of his reply:—"Having "long borne a load of obloquy for supporting the "King's measures, and never obtaining in recom- "pense the smallest remission of that displeasure "I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public "business is really extinguished in my mind, and "I am totally deprived of all consideration by "which alone I could have been of any use. The

* Memoirs, p. 32.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

"weight of irremoveable Royal displeasure is a load "too great to move under; it must crush any "man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb, "and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent "retreat, wherein I may no longer—by continuing "in the public stream of promotion—for ever stick "fast aground, and afford to the world the ridicu- "lous spectacle of being passed by every boat "that navigates the same river. To speak without "a figure, I will presume upon your Lordship's "great goodness to me to tell my utmost wish: "it is, that a retreat, not void of advantage, nor "derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might "as soon as practicable be opened to me." *

If, however, the wish for a quiet retirement or rich sinecure (the first term would have been applied by his friends, and the other by his enemies,) had really risen in the haughty mind of Pitt, it ere long passed away. On his return to London he showed a just mixture of moderation and resentment. When the Duke of Newcastle asked his opinion of the new arrangements, he declined answering. On being pressed, he said at last: "Your Grace will be surprised, but I think "Mr. Fox should have been at the head of the "House of Commons."† On another occasion, when the Duke wished to consult him on the intended expedition to America, Pitt answered

* To the Earl of Hardwicke, April 6. 1754. Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 105. ed. 1838.

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 340.

proudly: "Your Grace, I suppose, knows that I "have no capacity for these things, and, therefore, "I do not desire to be informed about them!"* CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

It was at this period that Pitt took to wife Lady Hester Grenville, sister of Earl Temple — a marriage which, while it secured his domestic happiness, strengthened his political connexion. From this time forward the family of Grenville — flourishing both in its main stem and in its branches — and surnamed by those who envied or opposed it "the Cousinhood" — has continued to play a conspicuous and important part on the scene of politics. A writer of our own day has computed that within the space of fifty years three First Lords of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, two Keepers of the Privy Seal, and four First Lords of the Admiralty were appointed from among the sons and grandsons of the first Countess Temple.†

No sooner were the Ministerial arrangements completed than the Parliament was dissolved. So great a lull had at this time come over party-spirit that it scarcely appeared even at elections. Only forty-two places in all England were contested‡; and in no point of character or feeling could the old Parliament be distinguished from the new. Yet, as we learn from good authority, large sums had been spent for seats on this occasion, by

* Dodington's Diary, October 8. 1754.

† Edinburgh Review, No. 137. p. 121. By Mr. Macaulay.

‡ Tindal's History, vol. ix. p. 510.

CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

previous contracts either with the "patrons," as they were termed, of some electors, or with the electors themselves.*

The new Parliament met in November. Before that time a common resentment had united the two statesmen whom rivalry had hitherto kept asunder—Pitt and Fox. "Sir Thomas Robinson "lead us!" exclaimed Pitt to Fox. "The Duke "might as well send his jackboot to lead us!"† Thus, on every occasion that arose in debate, they agreed to ridicule poor Sir Thomas—or rather, as a contemporary observes, assist him whilst he turned himself into ridicule.‡ The genius of Pitt tended most to open attack—that of Fox to insidious defence. For example, the Reading Election Petition having been fixed for a future day, Robinson was incautious enough to commit himself against it unheard, asserting with warmth that it would be a short cause, and, on the side of the sitting Member, a poor cause. Upon this Pitt handled him roughly. Fox rose as if in his vindication, pleading Sir Thomas's twenty years residence abroad on the public service, which had done

* H. Walpole to Mr. Bentley, May 18. 1754. Dodington's entry in his Journal on his own election is as follows: "April 14. 15. 16.: Spent in the infamous and disagreeable "compliance with the low habits of venal wretches." This was at Bridgewater, where Lord Egmont prevailed against him.

† This saying is recorded by retrospect in Lord Orford's Memoirs, (vol. ii. p. 101.)

‡ Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 31.

honour to himself and to the country, and which easily accounted for his present irregular and blamable expressions, and his total inexperience and ignorance of the matters then before the House! This story is told by Fox himself in one of his private letters*; and, he adds ironically, "Sir Thomas did not like it." CHAP. XXXII. 1754.

On another occasion Pitt ventured to turn from the tool to the master; not content with piercing Robinson, he let fly his shaft at Newcastle himself. The subject was another election petition—for Berwick—on the plea of bribery. Mr. Delaval, one of the sitting Members, made a speech on his being thus attacked, which was full of wit and buffoonery, and kept the House in a continual roar of laughter. Pitt was then in the gallery, but descended with stately step, and rose to speak in solemn tones. He was astonished, he said, when he heard what had been the occasion of their mirth. Was the dignity of the House of Commons on so sure a foundation that themselves might venture to shake it? Then high compliments to the Speaker; then, at last, eloquent exhortations to Whigs of all sections to defend their attacked and expiring liberty "—unless," he added in a voice of thunder, "you "will degenerate into a little assembly, serving no "other purpose than to register the arbitrary edicts "of one too powerful subject!" "Displeased as "well as pleased," says Fox, "allow it to be the

* To Lord Hartington, November 26. 1754.

CHAP. XXXII.

"finest speech that was ever made; and it was "observed that, by his first two periods, he brought
1754. "the House to a silence and attention that you "might have heard a pin drop."* According to another ear-witness, "this thunderbolt, thrown in a "sky so long serene, confounded the audience. "Murray crouched silent and terrified. Legge "scarce rose to say, with great humility, that he "had been raised solely by the Whigs, and if he "fell sooner or later he should pride himself in "nothing but in being a Whig."†

I have, as I think, observed in Parliament, that of all statesmen, former diplomatists—trained as they have been to a formal and ceremonious politeness—wince the most at being baited. Sir Thomas Robinson, after two or three of such "cruel mum-"blings," as Horace Walpole terms them‡, grew weary and ashamed of his perilous eminence. On the other hand, the Duke of Newcastle shook with terror at the almost nightly attacks on his puppet or on himself. He was the more provoked since the two ringleaders—Pitt and Fox—both held offices in his administration; yet, so much did he dread their abilities, that he would not venture either to dismiss or to promote them. At length,
1755. in the January following, he renewed, through Lord Waldegrave, his negotiation with Fox. The terms

* Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington, November 26. 1754. Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 147.

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 354.

‡ To Sir Horace Mann, December 1. 1754.

he offered were far less than those Fox had formerly refused—neither the lead of the House of Commons, nor the office of Secretary of State—but admission to the Cabinet, provided Fox would actively support the King's measures in the House, and would in some sort lead without being leader. —If these terms, as I have stated them, should appear inconsistent, perplexed, and shuffling, let the reader in justice impute the fault to Newcastle, and not to me.

Fox, to the dissatisfaction of many of his friends, and to the surprise of all, accepted this offer. He appears to have communicated each step of the negotiation as it proceeded to Pitt, and consulted Pitt's judgment*; nevertheless Pitt felt aggrieved, and as it were forsaken, in the result. He disdained to make any complaint, but took an opportunity of saying that Mr. Fox's line and his own were now different, not opposite, but converging—"a word," adds Fox, "which I do not quite understand,"—and that all connexion between them was at an end.† In truth the conduct of Fox to Pitt on this occasion seems not easy to reconcile with perfect good faith; while the sudden lowering of his pretensions to Newcastle was, beyond all doubt, an unworthy subservience. On one or both of these

* See the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 124—134. But the date, April 25., which is supplied by the Editor, must be erroneous. See H. Walpole's Letter of January 9. 1755.

† Dodington's Diary, May 9. 1755.—Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington, May 13. 1755.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

grounds he fell in public esteem, and it may be truly said that the desertion of Pitt proved nearly as injurious to the first Fox as the coalition with Lord North to the second.

By the aid of Fox and the silence of Pitt the remainder of the Session passed quietly. But great events were now at hand. The horizon had long been black with war, and in this summer burst the storm. In the East Indies the French and English settlers had for some years carried on hostilities, each party under the semblance of assisting its allies; their jars, however, were, if not composed, at least suspended by a compact between the two Companies. In North America the evil spread wider. Ever since the peace the limits of our colony of Nova Scotia—or Acadia as named by the French—had been a matter of angry discussion with the Court of Versailles. Commissioners had been appointed, and had accordingly met, but could come to no agreement. Both sides appealed to the terms of ancient treaties or state papers, but these had been drawn almost at random, while the territories in dispute yet lay waste and unexplored. The very term Acadia had sometimes been applied by the French to the mere Peninsula of Nova Scotia; sometimes to the whole range of country between the 40th and 46th degrees of North latitude.* Thus in like manner the line of demarcation between the French provinces of Canada and the

* Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 62. Charlevoix, Nouvelle France, vol. i. p. 112.

CHAP. XXXII.

1755.

British of New England was by no means free from cavils. With feelings of jealousy so rife, any roving inroad of the wild Indians on one party was always resented as a malicious instigation, as a wanton insult, of the other. Besides, the French were eager to connect their settlements on the St. Lawrence with those on the Mississippi, by a chain of forts beyond their territory. Some progress had already been made in the construction; above all, a fort named Duquesne had been built on the Ohio, and these encroachments had stirred up no small alarm and indignation in the States, especially of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Collisions followed, neither slight nor few. In Nova Scotia some French fugitives and insurgents confederating with an Indian tribe took the name of "Neutrals," and stood their ground against the British, but were routed by a body of 1,000 men dispatched against them under Major Lawrence. On the Ohio the French surprised and sacked Blocks Town, a settlement of the Virginians, who, in return, sent forward Major George Washington at the head of 400 men, and with orders to attack Fort Duquesne. But this officer having advanced to a place called Little Meadows found himself surrounded in a small fort by superior numbers, and, notwithstanding his resolute resistance, overpowered; he was compelled to capitulate, marching out, however, with military honours. This skirmish, of small importance, perhaps, in itself, was yet amongst the principal causes of the war.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

It is no less memorable as the first appearance in the pages of history of one of their brightest ornaments,—of that great and good man, GENERAL WASHINGTON.

An able diplomacy in Europe exerted betimes would probably have removed the causes and allayed the rancour of these feuds in America. But for our misfortune we had then at Paris as Ambassador the Earl of Albemarle, an indolent man of pleasure. He is held out by Lord Chesterfield to his son as an encouraging instance of the honours and emoluments which his favourite Graces can confer. "Between you and me, for this example must go no further, what do you think "made our friend, Lord Albemarle, Colonel of a "regiment of guards, Governor of Virginia, Groom "of the Stole, and Ambassador to Paris; amounting "in all to sixteen or seventeen thousand pounds a "year? Was it his birth?—No; a Dutch gentleman only. Was it his estate?—No; he had "none. Was it his learning, his parts, his political "abilities and application? You can answer these "questions as easily, and as soon, as I can ask "them. What was it then?—Many people wondered, but I do not, for I know, and will tell "you.—It was his air, his address, his manners, "and his graces."* During his latter years at Paris Albemarle was blindly devoted to a French mistress, who is alleged to have not only ruined

* Lord Chesterfield to his Son, May 27. 1752.

his fortune, but sold his secrets to her government. He died suddenly at his post in December 1754, but not until the breach between the nations had widened almost beyond the hope of reconciliation.

In the month of March the King sent a message to the House of Commons, announcing that the state of affairs required an augmentation of his forces both by land and sea. The House of Commons in return voted another million as a vote of credit. But, notwithstanding this troubled state of affairs, —notwithstanding also great confusion in Ireland from the cabals of the Speaker and the Primate, and the mismanagement of the Duke of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, whom it was found necessary at this juncture to recall, and to send out Lord Hartington as peace-maker,—His Majesty was not to be turned aside from his favourite recreation— a summer's residence at Hanover. In vain did his Ministers remonstrate; in vain did Earl Poulett, a former Lord of the Bedchamber, and a recent patriot, bring forward a motion against it in the House of Lords. The remonstrances were unheeded; the motion, which indeed could scarcely be reconciled either with respect or with precedents, was set aside at the interposition of Chesterfield*;

* Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, May 2. 1755, and H. Walpole to Mr. Bentley, May 6. 1755. Lord Poulett afterwards advertised for the notes of his own speech as lost; and Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, in his punning style, "My Lord P. has had a stroke of apoplexy; he has lost "both his speech and motion!"

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

and thus the King at the close of the Session in April, attended by Lord Holderness, embarked for his Electoral dominions.

Only the day before King George embarked at Harwich Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and two regiments on board, set sail from Portsmouth. His orders were to follow a large French armament which had recently been equipped at Brest, and to attack it, if designed for the Bay of St. Lawrence. A thick fog off Newfoundland concealed the rival fleets from each other; but two English ships, the first commanded by Captain (afterwards Lord) Howe, came within speech of two French. The foreign Commandant inquired if it was war or peace. Howe replied that he must wait for his Admiral's signal, but that he advised the Frenchman to prepare for war. Ere long appeared Boscawen's signal for engaging; Howe attacked, and after an engagement, in which he displayed equal skill and intrepidity, succeeded in taking the two French ships,—the Alcide and the Lys. The rest of the French armament—eight or nine ships of the line—got safe into the harbour of Louisburg; and their safety caused as great disappointment in England, as the capture of their consorts irritation in France. The French Ambassador in London, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled at these tidings, yet still there was not on either side a formal declaration of war.

Other important tidings followed. In the preceding January General Braddock, with some

troops, had been dispatched to the relief of Virginia. Braddock was a man cast in the same mould as Hawley, of a brave but brutal temper, and like Hawley also a personal favourite of the Duke of Cumberland. His rigorous ideas of discipline had made him hateful to his soldiers, and from the same cause he held in great contempt the American Militia, seeing that they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity which he had so often admired and enforced in Hyde Park. As to the Indians, the allies of France, he treated with disdain all the warnings he received against an ambush or surprise from them; and the Indians of his own party, who would have been his surest guards against this particular peril, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his demeanor that most of them forsook his banners. Aiming his operations against Fort Duquesne, the principal of the new French encroachments on the Ohio, he first reached the Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's reverse in the preceding summer. Here he found it necessary to leave a part of his troops and all his heavy baggage, but pursued his march with twelve hundred men and ten pieces of artillery. On the 9th of July he had arrived within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, when about noon he entered a hollow vale between two thick woods. He had neglected all precautions of scouts or vedettes, when suddenly his men were assailed in front and in flank by a murderous fire from unseen enemies. These were the native Indians, assisted

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

by a handful of French. They continued their fire from the covert, singling out especially the officers, whom they distinguished by their dress, and brought down with unerring aim. In this emergency Braddock's courage could not be exceeded; he had several horses killed under him, but at length was mortally wounded by a ball through his breast, and was borne off the field by some soldiers whom his aide-de-camp had bribed to that service by a guinea and a bottle of rum to each. He lingered a few hours more, having first dictated a despatch in which he did justice to the good conduct of his officers. Seeing him fall, his troops sought safety in headlong flight, leaving behind them their artillery and 700 dead or dying men.

This disaster was scarcely balanced, later in the year, by a victory of another officer, General Johnson, over a body of French and Indians near Lake George, or by the capture of Beau-sejour in Nova Scotia by Colonel Monckton.

At home in the King's absence our councils were most feeble and wavering. Another powerful fleet was ready to sail under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. But when the question arose as to Hawke's instructions, a great difference appeared amongst the Members of the Regency. The Duke of Cumberland, always inclined to vigorous measures, wished to declare war at once, and to strike the first blow. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, though a man of undaunted courage, took a view, says

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

Lord Waldegrave, agreeable to the usual practice of his Court, and was against bringing the cause to an immediate decision.* The Duke of Newcastle, trimming and trembling, as was ever his wont, thought only of keeping off the storm as long as possible, and of shifting its responsibility from himself. Thus he gave his opinion that Hawke should for the present have no instructions at all, and merely take a turn in the Channel to exercise the fleet. Another time he said, that the Admiral might be ordered "not to attack the "enemy, unless he thought it worth while."—"Be "assured," said Fox, "that Hawke is too wise a "man to do any thing at all, which others, when "done, are to pronounce he ought to be hanged "for."† At length, as a kind of compromise, it was agreed that there should be no declaration of war,—that our fleet should attack the French ships of the line, if it fell in with any, but by no means disturb any smaller men of war, or any vessels engaged in trade. When at the Board of Regency these instructions came round to the bottom of the table to be signed by Fox, he turned to Lord Anson, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to whom he sat next, and asked if there were no objections to them? "Yes," answered Anson, "a hundred; but it pleases those at the "upper end of the table, and will signify nothing,

* Memoirs, p. 47.

† See Dodington's Diary, July 21. 1755.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

"for the French will declare war next week, if "they have not done it already."* But only a few days later counter-instructions were sent in all haste to Hawke, directing him to seize and destroy every thing French, trade or men of war, between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear. These last orders produced a large number of lucrative captures; but as they were still unaccompanied with any notice or declaration of war they gave some handle to the French Government for inveighing against the perfidy and Punic faith of our's, and calling us robbers and pirates. Nay, so eager were the Court of Versailles to avail themselves of this outcry against us, and to push it as far as possible, that their fleet having in the month of August captured one English man of war, the Blandford, orders were immediately despatched to release both the ship and the crew.†

While the prospects of peace grew darker and darker, there was also gathering a cloud of popular distrust and resentment against the Minister. It was often asked whether these were times when all power could be safely monopolised by the Duke of Newcastle? Was every thing to be risked—perhaps every thing lost—for the sake of one hoary jobber at the Treasury? Was he never to choose his colleagues for knowledge or capacity, but only for subservience?—Questions such as these in the

* This was related to Dodington by Fox himself. Diary, August 18. 1755.

† Smollett's Hist., book iii. ch. iv. sect. 28.

public made Newcastle himself consider some effort for gaining strength in the House of Commons as desirable; and what made it almost inevitable was the news of negotiations at Hanover.

On the approach or apprehension of war the King had, as usual, thought first of his Electorate. Next to the French, his nephew of Prussia was the potentate whom he chiefly dreaded. Hanover might prove as tempting a conquest to Frederick in this war as Silesia in the last; and he would be just as little restrained by honour or good faith from seizing it. For its defence George the Second relied on his Subsidiary Treaties. Those with Saxony and with Bavaria were expired or expiring, and there seemed no readiness on their part to renew them without greatly enhancing the terms. Here then had been the whole result, — an annual payment to these states of English money during several years of peace, when they neither were nor could be of the slightest service. No wonder then if the very name of Subsidiary Treaties had become a scoff and by-word to the people. Nevertheless the King, being fully assured of Newcastle's passive obedience to whatever he might desire, now signed another such compact with the Elector of Hesse. It provided an annual payment of 150,000 crowns from England with 80 crowns for every horseman, and 30 crowns for every foot soldier, as levy money, should the troops be actually required. Another treaty of the same kind, but much larger scale, was negotiating with the Empress of Russia, but not finally

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

concluded until after His Majesty's return. The mere rumour of such engagements raised no small ferment even amongst the holders of office. "I "am surprised," said Fox to Dodington, "that you "are not against all subsidies."* With more vehemence Pitt inveighed against the King's ill-timed journey to Hanover, "which all persons," he added, "should have prevented even with their "bodies!—A King abroad at this time without "one man about him that has one English sen-"timent, and to bring home a whole nest of "subsidies!"†

Still more effectual was the disapprobation of Legge. For some time past he had smarted under the mean domination of Newcastle, and the popular reports of his own subservience. From both he determined to free himself by one bold stroke. At the Council of Regency the Duke of Newcastle had merely produced the Hessian Treaty as concluded, and announced the King's commands,—upon which the Chancellor bowed, and "their "Lordships signed the paper without reading it, "as a thing of course!" But when the Treasury Warrants requisite to carry that treaty into execution were laid before Legge, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he peremptorily refused to sign them.

* Dodington's Diary, August 18. 1755. "Fox had dropped "intimations of his dislike to the treaties." (Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 400.)

† Dodington's Diary, Sept. 3. 1755.

This refusal from one hitherto found so unresisting came like a thunderbolt on Newcastle. Sorely perplexed, he had now recourse to Pitt. Having first endeavoured to soften and prepare the rising statesman through the Chancellor, he requested a personal meeting. When Pitt accordingly came the Duke received him most warmly, pressing him to his heart with his usual profusion of fulsome embraces, empty compliments, and hysterical tears. He entreated his support in Parliament of the Hessian and Russian Subsidies. He offered him a seat in the Cabinet,—he promised a most gracious reception by the King at Court,—he hinted a prospect of the Seals whenever a vacancy should happen. Pitt at once declined to take his seat in the Cabinet, or to give his support to the treaties. With manly firmness he stood up for the dignity and independence of the House of Commons, and condemned the Duke's attempts to lead it by deputy. "Your Grace's "system," said he, "of carrying on the business of "the House, I believe, will not do, and while I have "life and breath to utter I will oppose it. There "must be men of efficiency and authority in the "House, a Secretary and a Chancellor of the "Exchequer at least, who should have access to "the Crown, habitual, frequent, familiar access, I "mean, that they may tell their own story, to do "themselves and their friends justice, and not be "the victims of a whisper. . . . For my part, if the "Ministry ask nothing of me I ask nothing of

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

"them. . . . As to foreign matters there is no "doubt of my concurrence to carry on the war, "as it is a national war; and I think that regard "ought to be had to Hanover, if it should be "attacked on our account. . . . We should never "lay down our arms without procuring satisfaction "for any damage they may receive on our account. "But we could not find money to defend it by "subsidies, and if we could that is not the way to "defend it."—The Duke still pleaded for the treaties, and muttered that the King's honour was engaged to Hesse.—Pitt replied with professions of the highest loyalty and attachment to His Majesty. If it were a particular compliment to the King, and if security were given against its being drawn into a precedent, he and his friends might perhaps be brought to sanction this single treaty. —"Well, and the Russian Subsidy," said Newcastle.—"No, no," rejoined Pitt hastily,—"not a "system of subsidies."—Thus the conference broke up without result.*

There seems little doubt—considering the pressure upon Newcastle at this period—that had Pitt shown any readiness to support the treaties he might at once have obtained the Seals of Secre-

* The details of this remarkable conference are to be gathered partly from Lord Orford's Memoirs, (vol. i. p. 399.,) and partly from Dodington's Diary, (September 3. 1755.,) on the relation of Pitt himself. In the entry of the previous day are several expressions and arguments of Pitt to Hardwicke, which he appears to have repeated in his subsequent interview with Newcastle.

tary. But though he desired high office, he desired it only for high and generous ends. He did not seek it for patronage like Newcastle, or for lucre like Fox. Glory was the bright star that ever shone before his eyes, and ever guided him onwards;—his country's glory and his own. "My "Lord," he once exclaimed to the Duke of Devonshire, "I am sure that I can save this country, "and that nobody else can!"*

His rival was found more pliant. The King having returned from Hanover, a few days afterwards, towards the middle of September, His Majesty's consent was obtained to a new negotiation with Fox. It was agreed that Fox should receive the Seals of Secretary with efficient powers, and the lead in the House of Commons. On the other hand, he undertook to smother his own disapprobation of the treaties, and support them to the utmost of his energies in Parliament. Sir Thomas Robinson received a pension of 2,000*l.* a year on the Irish establishment, and reverted to his former office,—"Master of the Great Wardrobe,"—an office to which (as in justice to him I am bound to acknowledge) his abilities were found fully equal.†

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 271. See also some observations in the North American Review for October 1842, p. 388. It is gratifying thus to find the literature of the New country afford valuable contributions to the history of the Old.

† The reader will, perhaps, be reminded of *Monsieur Coquenet*, and his applications for an office, in Scribe's clever comedy *La*

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

Although this arrangement was completed several weeks before the meeting of Parliament, its execution was postponed until two days after, that Fox might retain his seat and be able to speak for the Address. It promised some further increase of numbers to the Ministerial ranks, since Fox drew with him to a great extent the House of Bedford. Yet far-sighted observers could already discern in it the tokens of approaching dissolution. When Lord Chesterfield was told of it, he exclaimed, that the Duke of Newcastle had turned out every body else, and now had turned out himself! *

But the ill-timed journey of the King last summer had been fruitful, not merely of Ministerial dissensions, but of Court cabals.—While at Hanover the Duchess of Brunswick with her two daughters paid His Majesty a visit; the King was charmed with the beauty, merit, and understanding of the elder Princess, and designed her as a suitable consort to the young Prince of Wales. He had no object apparently but his grandson's happiness, whom he desired to see settled before he died,—and no wish to force the Prince's inclinations should he find them averse to the match. But the Princess Dowager in England took alarm at the first rumours

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Calomnie: "Cela ne rapporte que quinze mille francs; mais "en revanche on n'a rien à faire—place honorable qui irait à "mes goûts et à mes moyens." (Act 1. scene 6.)

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Sept. 29. 1755.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

of the scheme. The domestic virtues of which her son gave early promise convinced her that he would soon become devoted to his bride,—above all to a bride so accomplished and so amiable;—and she feared that her influence over him would decline in the same degree. These are the motives ascribed to her by several writers at the time, but it must be owned, on the other hand, that the King was not infallible in his predilections, and that the early youth of the Prince of Wales (only seventeen) might also suggest to an affectionate mother adequate grounds of objection. Certain it is that under her influence Prince George speedily imbibed the utmost aversion to the proposed alliance. Her conversation at this time with Dodington, next to Bute one of her most trusted friends, throws great light upon her feelings, while it also incidentally reveals her real opinion of her son. "The young "woman is said to be handsome, and to have all "good qualities, but if she takes after her mother "she will never do here."—"Pray Madam," asked Dodington, "what is her mother? as I know "nothing at all about her?"—"Why," replied the Princess Dowager, "her mother is the most in- "triguing, meddling, and also the most satirical, "sarcastical person in the world, and will always "make mischief wherever she comes. Such a "character would not do with George; it would "not only hurt him in his public but make him "uneasy in his private situation. He is not a wild "dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful,

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

"with a serious cast upon the whole. Those about "him know him no more than if they had never "seen him.—His education has given me much "pain; his book-learning I am no judge of, though "I suppose it small or useless, but I hope he may "have been instructed in the general understanding "of things. . . . . I once desired Mr. Stone to in- "form the Prince about the Constitution, but he "declined it to avoid giving jealousy to the Bishop "of Norwich. I mentioned it again, but he still "declined it as not being his province."—"Pray "Madam," said Dodington, "what is his pro- "vince?"—Her Royal Highness answered, "I do "not know, unless it is to go before the Prince "upstairs, to walk with him sometimes, seldomer "to ride with him, and now and then to dine with "him."*

Under these impressions the Princess Dowager set herself in direct opposition to the King. All the dutiful submission she had not only professed, but shown, since her husband's death, ceased at once and for ever. Surrendering herself to the guidance of Bute and Dodington, her former caution and prudence appeared to forsake her. She affected to treat with contempt the King's principal Ministers, while Pitt and Pitt's followers were most graciously received; nor did she scruple to connect herself,—and, as far as she could prevail, connect her son,—with opposition cabals. Perhaps she

* Dodington's Diary, August 6. 1755.

flattered herself that these cabals might yet pass undiscovered; but the King had not been a week in England before he was thoroughly informed of every thing she did, and of most things she intended. After a short interval His Majesty sent for the Prince into his closet, not to propose the match, knowing it would be to little purpose, but to sound his grandson's views in reference to Hanover, and to caution him against evil advisers. The result of this interview proved far from satisfactory to the Royal grandsire. The Prince, deeply impressed with filial duty to his mother, heard all the King's representations with distrust; he bowed and bowed again, but made scarce any answer. In the opinion of Lord Waldegrave, who, from his post in the Prince's Household, had the best means of judging, and whose high integrity is acknowledged by all parties, His Majesty here committed no small mistake; instead of thus sending for the Prince, he should have spoken firmly to the Dowager Princess, and told her that as she governed her son she should be held as answerable for his conduct.

It was at the crisis of such great and jarring interests,—a war, though not declared, begun,—a people roused from indifference to discontent,—the Heir-Apparent again inclining to the side of opposition,—and a schism breaking forth in the very heart of the Ministry,—that the Parliament met on the 13th of November. It was a day fraught with anxious hopes and fears to millions. The King's Speech and the Addresses moved in answer to

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

it were such as to imply, at least, approbation of the treaties with Russia and Hesse. Against these, the Earls Temple and of Halifax declaimed in the Lords, but, besides Newcastle and Hardwicke, the Duke of Bedford spoke in their support, and no division ensued. In the Commons the debate, which commenced at two in the afternoon, continued till five the next morning,—the longest yet on record, except that upon the Westminster Election in 1741. Every variety of sentiment, every degree of talent, appeared in their turn. It was on this occasion that William Gerard Hamilton delivered his famous harangue. "He spoke for "the first time," says an ear-witness, "and was at "once perfection; his speech was set, and full of "antitheses, but these antitheses were full of argu- "ment; indeed his speech was the most argumenta- "tive of the whole day, and he broke through the "regularity of his own composition, answered other "people, and fell into his own track again with the "greatest ease."* This high promise of excellence was, however, followed by no further efforts; the young orator was content with this fame, and with some lucrative offices it gained him in Ireland; and became known by the name of Single-Speech Hamilton. Yet a volume he has left of maxims for debating in the House of Commons proves how deeply and carefully he had made that subject his study.†

* H. Walpole to H. S. Conway, November 15. 1755.

† This volume is entitled "Parliamentary Logic," and

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

Philip Stanhope, the illegitimate son of Lord Chesterfield, also took part in this debate, having been most studiously trained and most anxiously exhorted by his father, but he failed, and never raised his voice in public again.

Dr. Lee (now become Sir George) spoke as representative of the Princess Dowager's sentiments, and as such was explicit against the Court. He said it was easy for the Ministers to produce unanimity by pursuing British measures,—a high-sounding empty phrase, as was thought at the time, but, as it proved soon afterwards, a true prediction.

Murray with a master's touch painted the merits of the King, who might have ensured tranquillity to the evening of his life had he studied only his own repose; but His Majesty disdained such tranquillity as would entail greater difficulties on his successor and on his people.

At length, after many other more or less interesting speeches, up rose Pitt,—as Horace Walpole, who was present, well describes him,—haughty, defiant, conscious of recent injury and of supreme abilities. "He surpassed himself, and then I need

abounds in useful hints. How shrewd, for example, is the following: "State what you censure by the soft name of those "who would apologise for it," (p. 23.) Or this: "In putting a "question to your adversary, let it be the last thing you say," (p. 24.) It is not strictly true that Hamilton never spoke a second time; there are two other harangues of his on Irish affairs, which he delivered at Dublin, and which are printed after the Logic, (p. 137. and 165. ed. 1808.)

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

"not tell you that he surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they with their formal, laboured, cabinet orations make by the side of his manly vivacity and dashing eloquence at one o'clock in the morning, after sitting in that heat for eleven hours! He spoke above an hour and a half with scarce a bad sentence."*—Such descriptions must make us more than ever regret the utter absence, or what is even worse—the glaring imperfection, of reports in that age. Of this splendid declamation against the treaties of subsidy by far the greater part has perished; one celebrated passage, however, on the coalition between Newcastle and Fox is happily preserved. "It strikes me now!" exclaimed Pitt, raising his hand suddenly to his forehead, "I remember that at Lyons I was taken to see the conflux of the Rhone and Saone,—the one a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid of no depth †,—the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent,—but different as they are they meet at last,—and long," he added with bitter irony, "long may they continue united to the comfort of each other.

* H. Walpole to R. Bentley, November 16. 1755.

† Any one who gazes on the Saone, in almost any part of its course, will be struck with the aptness of Cæsar's description: "Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit." (De Bell. Gall. lib i. c. 12.)

"and to the glory, honour, and security of this "nation!"*

1755.

Fox, tired and unanimated, replied only in a few words. But the triumph of the division by no means followed the palm of oratory; 311 Members voted for the Address, and only 105 against it.—Next morning Fox received the Seals; a few days later Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville were dismissed from their places. The successor of Legge, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Sir George Lyttleton, in former years the friend and confederate of Pitt, but of late gradually estranged from him. Lord Barrington became Secretary at War in the place of Fox.

It has often been alleged without contradiction —and sometimes been urged as a reproach—that Pitt thus expelled from office consented to accept a pension of 1,000*l.* a year from the Crown. Some letters, however, which have hitherto remained unpublished, prove beyond all question, that the sum thus received was no pension from the Crown, but only a gift of friendship from Lord Temple, who most earnestly pressed it through his sister on his brother-in-law's acceptance.†

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 414. The two rivals were still, it appears, on familiar terms. After the debate Fox asked Pitt, "Who is the Rhone?" Pitt answered, "Is "that a fair question?"

† Earl Temple to Lady Hester Pitt, November 20. and 21. 1755. See Appendix.

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

From these struggles of party we must now turn to contemplate—and how little do they seem by its side!—a tremendous convulsion of nature. On the morning of the 1st of November in this year, at the same period, though in less or greater degree, a far-spreading earthquake ran through great part both of Europe and Barbary. In the north its effects, as usual with earthquakes in that region, were happily slight and few. Some gentle vibrations were felt as far as Dantzick. At the hot wells of Töplitz in Bohemia the chief spring having first grown turbid and muddy, and having stopped altogether for one minute, suddenly threw up so great a quantity of water that within half an hour all the baths in the town ran over; and for some months afterwards it was observed that this spring supplied more water than usual, and that water hotter and more impregnated with its medicinal qualities.* In many parts of England the water of ponds and rivers was observed violently to swell, and then, after some minutes, to subside without any apparent cause, or else to rise in ridges like uneven land, although no wind was blowing, and the air continued still and calm. Thus, for example, near Guildford, an old man led a horse to water at a small pond which is fed by springs, and "while "the horse was drinking, the water ran away from "the horse and moved towards the south with

* Letter from Father Joseph Steplin to Dr. Short, Jan. 30. 1756.

" swiftness, and in such a quantity as left the bot-
" tom of the pond bare, then returned with that
" impetuosity which made the man leap backwards
" to secure himself."* In Madrid a violent shock was felt, but no buildings, and only two human beings, perished. In Fez and in Marocco, on the contrary, great numbers of houses fell down, and great multitudes of people were buried beneath the ruins. But the widest and most fearful destruction was reserved for Lisbon. Already, in the year 1531, that city had been laid half in ruins by an earthquake.† The 1st of November 1755 was All Saints' Day, a festival of great solemnity; and at nine in the morning all the churches of Lisbon were crowded with kneeling worshippers of each sex, all classes, and all ages, when a sudden and most violent shock made every church reel to its foundations. Within the intervals of a few minutes two other shocks no less violent ensued, and every church in Lisbon—tall column and towering spire—was hurled to the ground. Thousands and thousands of people were crushed to death, and thousands more grievously maimed, unable to crawl away, and left to expire in lingering agony. The more stately and magnificent had been the fabric

* Dr. Swithin Adee to Mr. Webb, Nov. 25. 1755. This and the other testimonies I have quoted on this subject will be found collected and printed in the Philosophical Transactions for 1755, p. 351—444.

† Paulus Jovius, Hist., lib. xxix. He adds, " Nemoque jam " totâ prope Lusitaniâ tectis suis confideret, subsultante scilicet " solo."

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

the wider and more grievous was the havoc made by its ruin. About one fourth, as was vaguely computed, of all the houses in the city toppled down. The encumbered streets could scarce afford an outlet to the fugitives; "friends," says an eye-witness, "running from their friends, fathers from "their children, husbands from their wives, because "every one fled away from their habitations full of "terror, confusion, and distraction."* The earth seemed to heave and quiver like an animated being. The sun was darkened with the clouds of lurid dust that arose. Frantic with fear a headlong multitude rushed for refuge to a large and newly built stone pier which jutted out into the Tagus, when a sudden convulsion of the stream turned this pier bottom uppermost, like a ship on its keel in the tempest, and then engulphed it. And of all the living creatures who had lately thronged it,—full three thousand, it is said,—not one, even as a corpse, ever rose again.† From the banks of the river other crowds were looking on in speechless affright, when the river itself came rushing in upon them like a torrent, though against wind and tide. It rose at least fifteen feet above the highest spring tides, and then again subsided, drawing in or dashing to pieces every thing within its reach, while the very ships in the harbour were violently whirled

* Dr. Sacheti to Dr. De Castro, Fields of Lisbon, Dec. 1. 1755.

† Mr. J. Latham to his uncle in London, Zusqueira, Dec. 11. 1755.

around. Earth and water alike seemed let loose as scourges on this devoted city. "Indeed every "element," says a person present, "seemed to "conspire to our destruction . . . . . for in about two "hours after the shock fires broke out in three "different parts of the city, occasioned from the "goods and the kitchen fires being all jumbled "together."* At this time also the wind grew into a fresh gale, which made the fires spread in extent and rage with fury during three days, until there remained but little for them to devour. Many of the maimed and wounded are believed to have perished unseen and unheeded in the flames; some few were almost miraculously rescued after being for whole days buried where they fell, without light or food or hope. The total number of deaths was computed at the time as not less than 30,000, while the survivors no longer venturing to sleep in houses, even where houses still remained, encamped around the city in tents, or if tents were wanting, laid themselves down in the open air. Several of the greatest granaries (for Lisbon was then the storehouse of corn to all the country round) had been consumed by the flames, and the horrors of famine rose in dismal perspective to the view. Nor was even this the worst;—some bands of wretches and outcasts rendered desperate by their

* Mr. Wolfall to Mr. Parsons, Lisbon, November 18. 1755. So great was still the confusion on the 18th that Mr. Wolfall adds, "I procured this paper by mere accident, and I write "this on a garden wall."

CHAP. XXXII. 1755.

misery, and freed from the control of laws, took advantage of the public confusion to rob and murder the few who had saved any property. The Royal Family had accidentally escaped the danger by being at the country palace of Belem; but the richest Sovereign in Europe beheld himself in a single day reduced to the poorest. He wrote to his sister, the Queen of Spain, "Here am I, a "King without a capital, without subjects, without "raiment!"* The first step toward the restoration of order was the King's command to raise gallows all round the city, and after about one hundred executions of the murderers and robbers (amongst whom, it is said, were some English sailors) that evil at least was arrested. All then relapsed into smouldering flames and mournful silence; and human crimes were no longer left to mingle with and to aggravate still further these appalling tokens of the Almighty Power and Divine Dispensation.

I may be asked why I have related at such length an event that seems foreign to my allotted theme—the History of England?—I answer because the benevolence of England made it not foreign. On the first authentic intelligence of the disaster through our Minister at Madrid, the King sent a message to the House of Commons, desiring

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 430. "The palace in "town," says Mr. Wolfall, "tumbled the first shock, but the "natives insist that the Inquisition was the first building that "fell." (November 18. 1755.) A strong symptom how unpopular that tribunal had already grown in Portugal.

their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers. In reply the House of Commons unanimously voted a free gift of 100,000*l.* At that time the English themselves were in great want of grain; nevertheless a considerable part of this sum was sent over in corn and flour, besides a stock of beef from Ireland, and the rest in money. Such supplies came most seasonably for the poor Portuguese, many of whom were already pinched with famine. Their King expressed his gratitude in the warmest terms, and as a token of it ordered that in the distribution of the provisions a preference should be given to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake; accordingly about one thirtieth part was set aside for their use. Nor were the people less grateful than their monarch for such generosity; it created, or rather it confirmed, a cordial feeling between the two nations. "These things are not forgotten in "Portugal," says one who long resided amongst the Portuguese, and whose genius has drawn no small share of its inspiration from their literature and language,—"the face of its rudest mountaineer "brightens when he hears that it is an Englishman "who accosts him, and he tells the traveller that "the English and the Portuguese were always— "always friends."*

1755.

Another effect of the Lisbon earthquake—more trifling yet not to be slighted by any close observer

* Southey's Peninsular War, vol. iii. p. 388. 8vo. ed.

CHAP. XXXII.

1755. of national feelings and customs—was the prohibition of the London masquerades.* It was feared that the continuance of these diversions might draw down the same calamity on England which Portugal had just sustained!—On the other hand, a pamphlet was published at Madrid to prove that this calamity was allowed to befall the Portuguese solely on account of their connection with the heretic English! †

1756. During the winter, and until the close of the Session in May 1756, England was stirred with constantly recurring alarms of a French invasion. Scarce a French sail appeared in the Channel but it was expanded by popular rumour into a hostile flotilla. Our national confidence had dwindled under our pusillanimous rulers; a little longer and we might all have sunk to the level of Newcastle. "I want," exclaimed Pitt, in a tone becoming an Englishman, "to call this country out of that ener-"vate state that 20,000 men from France could "shake it!" ‡—Then, on the contrary, far from relying on our own spirit and resources, Addresses were moved in both Houses entreating or empowering the King to summon over for our defence some of his Hanoverian troops, and some also of the hired Hessians,—an ignominious vote, but carried by large majorities. Throughout the Session, indeed, the majorities, supported by the plausible argu-

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 283.

† Clarke's Letters on the Spanish Nation, p. 353. ed. 1763.

‡ Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 440.

ments of Murray, and the ready retorts of Fox, were firm and ample on the side of the Government. But the eloquence of Pitt shone with a higher lustre than it had ever yet attained; his voice found an echo in the public tongue; and the public eye was fixed upon him as the present champion—as the future restorer,—of a better system.

CHAP. XXXII. 1756.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756.

WHILE throughout the winter the French were boasting of their intended descent on England,—while, at least, apparent preparations were proceeding in all their harbours from Dunkirk to Brest,—they had secretly a far different object in view. They had set their hearts on the island of Minorca,—which in September 1708 had been conquered by General Stanhope at the head of 2,000 men, and which five years afterwards had been secured to England by the Peace of Utrecht. There seems strong reason to believe that at the period of Stanhope's conquest the French had designed the island for their own possession; it was supplied from their treasury, and held by their troops, nominally for their ally, King Philip, but in truth for themselves; and their grief and indignation at its loss were manifested in the rigorous treatment of the Governor, La Jonquière, notwithstanding his resolute defence.*

* Le Roi l'a cassé et degradé, lui a oté la croix de St. Louis "et ses pensions. On l'envoie en prison en une place de "Franche Comté. (Journal de Dangeau, le 21 Janvier 1709.)

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

That by far the best port in the Mediterranean should be in the hands of England was a thorn that long continued to rankle in the side of France. An expedition against the island was now planning and preparing from the coast of Provence, but in spite of every precaution this could not be done with perfect secrecy. Intelligence reached the English Ministers early in the year 1756 from several of the envoys and consuls both in Spain and Italy, that large bodies of French troops were gathering along the Rhone,—that a French squadron of twelve or fourteen sail of the line was equipping at Toulon,—that a great number of transports was likewise made ready,—and that these ships were supplied with provisions for so short a period that they could not be intended for America.* To all these repeated advices the Ministers in London were unwilling to give credit, and long insisted that this was but a feint to divert their attention from their own shores. "I say it with "concern," writes Horace Walpole, "considering "who was Newcastle's associate," (he alludes to his friend Fox,) "but this was the year of the "worst administration that I have seen in England; "for now Newcastle's incapacity was left to its "full play."† No pains were taken to reinforce

* The first of these advices came from Consul Birtles at Genoa; it distinctly mentions the French project of surprising Minorca, and is dated so early as January 17. 1756. See Commons Journals, May 3. 1757.

† Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 54.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

the garrison, which was wholly inadequate to the defence of the place; the Governor, Lord Tyrawley, was allowed to remain in England, and the Deputy Governor on the spot, General Blakeney, though a gallant veteran, who had defended Stirling Castle in the last Rebellion, was disabled by old age and infirmities.

At length, such intelligence arriving as left no further room for doubts, the Ministers endeavoured to repair by precipitation the evils of their previous delay. They sent out ten ships of war, but these in ill condition and poorly manned, and they intrusted the command of them to Admiral John Byng. This was the second son of the late Admiral Byng, who had been created Viscount Torrington, and who, by a singular contrast, as it proved, had distinguished himself at the conquest of Minorca in 1708. Byng sailed from Spithead on the 7th of April; only three days afterwards the French armament issued from Toulon. This armament consisted of twelve ships of the line, and many transports, under M. de La Galissonière, and had on board 16,000 troops commanded by the Duke de Richelieu. They appeared off the port of Ciudadella in Minorca on the 18th. Some days before a fast-sailing sloop had brought General Blakeney the tidings of their approach, and he had been able to make his final dispositions to receive them. Minorca affords no advantages of ground for defence, being, though rocky, nearly all lowland, except towards the centre of the island, where there rises a detached eminence

called Monte Toro*,—a name which appears to have denoted a hill in the primitive tongues, and which may be traced from the Asiatic MOUNT TAURUS to our own TORS in Devonshire. But the castle of St. Philip, which commanded the town and harbour of Mahon, had been constructed with great care and cost, and was probably at this time inferior in strength to no other fortress in Europe. The redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks might have done honour to Vauban, while underground a great number of galleries and mines had been cut with incredible labour through the solid rock. Behind these defences the Governor now withdrew all his advanced parties, calling in especially five companies and two pieces of cannon from Ciudadella. A large herd of cattle was driven into the fort; twenty-five Minorquin bakers were hired to prepare biscuits and bread; the ports were walled up, the posts assigned, and some windmills and houses demolished so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches. Commodore Edgcumbe, who lay anchored off Mahon with a little squadron, being wholly unable to cope with the enemy's, set sail for Gibraltar, leaving his marines to reinforce the garrison; after which General Blakeney sunk a sloop in the channel, and thus obstructed the entrance of the harbour.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

* Armstrong's History of Minorca, p. 52. ed. 1752. He adds, "Mount Toro is of the sugar-loaf make, and its vast cone is "elevated on a base that is many miles in diameter."

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

As to regular troops, however, General Blakeney with every exertion could muster no more than 2,800 men. Of the officers belonging to these troops full thirty-five were absent from their duty, including, besides the Governor, Lord Tyrawley, all the Colonels of the regiments.* The chief engineer was confined to his chamber with the gout, and Blakeney himself had, for the most part, to issue his orders from his bed. Amidst so much of negligence or infirmity the conduct of one young officer stands forth in spirited contrast.—Captain Cunningham had been engineer in second at Minorca, but being promoted to a Majority in England, was on his way homewards, and was only delayed at Nice by the delivery of his wife and the sickness of his children. It was at Nice that he heard of the French designs against his former comrades in St. Philip's; he immediately exclaimed, "They will want engineers!" and determined at all risks to rejoin them; first expending what money he had in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other things needful for defence, and in hiring a ship for the voyage; nor did he hesitate, where his country's service was at stake, to leave his wife and children sick in a land of strangers.

Admiral Byng, on anchoring at Gibraltar, found there Commodore Edgcumbe, and thus learnt the particulars of the French descent upon Minorca. Before he again set sail he was anxious, according

* See Commons' Journals, May 3. 1757.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

to his instructions, to take on board a battalion of troops as a reinforcement to St. Philip's, but General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, having consulted a Council of War, refused to spare them. Fowke had received two orders on this subject from Lord Barrington as Secretary at War, but he afterwards alleged in his defence, though, as I think, without sufficient foundation, that these two orders were confused and contradictory, and left him a full discretionary power.* Byng, therefore, proceeded without these expected succours, but was joined by Commodore Edgcumbe with one man of war, and by Captain Harvey with another. On the 19th of May the Admiral came in sight of St. Philip's. He descried with pleasure the British colours still flying from the castle, while the French standards appeared

* These two orders are dated March 21. and 28. 1756. and were produced at Byng's Trial. (See p. 10. of the Minutes.) It appears from the unpublished Life of Lord Barrington by his brother, the Bishop of Durham, (p. 23.) that the first order had been sent out, together with the second, through an official oversight of Mr. Sherwin, the Deputy Secretary at War. "This," says the Bishop, "was certainly a mistake, but it did "not appear a material one, for the last order alone was valid." And he adds elsewhere, "General Fowke owned to Lord "Barrington afterwards, and to several other persons, that he "was prevailed on, just before his trial, to make this defence "(of his orders being contradictory and unintelligible), and "that it was the action of his life of which he was most "ashamed. His advisers probably did not know that he had "written letters which fully contradicted the justification they "had suggested, and that these letters would be laid before his "judges."

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

on several bomb-batteries that were playing against it. In reality the enemy had not as yet made much progress in the siege. By the direction of some unskilful engineers, they had raised their first batteries near Cape Mola on the opposite side of the harbour, from whence they could have but little effect against the castle, whilst themselves were exposed to a galling fire. Accordingly they soon thought proper to change their plan of attack, —to relinquish their first batteries,—and to raise others on the place where the windmills had been destroyed; but these new batteries were not ready to open until the 12th of the month.

The Admiral now made an attempt to communicate with the Governor, and the Governor another attempt to communicate with the Admiral. Both attempts, however, appear to have been faint and slack, and much too readily despaired of. That same evening M. de La Galissonière had come in sight; next forenoon (the 20th of May) he bore down with all his ships; and Byng drew out his own in line of battle. The two fleets were almost equally matched, but the French, as was alleged, a little superior in weight of metal and in number of men. At a signal from Byng the engagement was begun by Rear Admiral West, who was second in command on the British side. So impetuously did he attack the enemy with his division that the ships opposed to it were in a short time driven out of their line. But the other division, commanded by Byng, kept aloof at this critical time, and

West found himself unable to pursue his advantage. Thus the engagement was interrupted, and the French Admiral showed no disposition to renew it. 1756. Next morning the French fleet was out of sight, and Byng, perplexed and irresolute as to his movements, adopted that favourite resource of incapable commanders,—a Council of War. He urged to the assembled officers his inferiority in men and weight of metal to the enemy,—his loss on the foregoing day of 42 killed and 168 wounded, —the damaged or unsound condition of his ships. He stated his opinion that if even he should succeed in beating the French fleet, that victory would not suffice to raise the siege of St. Philip's,— and upon the whole, therefore, he proposed to leave Minorca to its fate, and to steer back to Gibraltar, which might be in equal need of protection. In these views the Council acquiesced, and to Gibraltar accordingly the fleet returned.

Such were the transactions which in their result lost Byng both his reputation and his life. In reviewing them at this distance of time with complete impartiality and calmness, we may in the first place dismiss with a smile of contempt the insinuation ventured by party violence, that Byng or his employers, or both, had some secret interest in betraying Minorca to the enemy. The charge of cowardice against Byng himself may deserve more serious consideration. But it appears by the evidence at his Court Martial that Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and other

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

officers who were near his person on the 20th of May, did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, nor any marks of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour, and that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly.* It appears also that his delay in giving succour to West arose partly from his becoming accidentally entangled amidst some of his own ships, and partly from an overstrained idea of discipline as to the importance of all advancing in line. Nor does the Admiral seem to have shown any mean and unworthy jealousy of his second in command; he wrote the very evening of the action a letter of thanks to Admiral West, acknowledging most warmly his "fine and "gallant conduct."..... "Your behaviour," he adds, "was like an angel to-day!"† But though Byng was a man perfectly honest and sufficiently brave, we may acknowledge, without disrespect to the name of an unfortunate officer, that he wanted capacity. Even before reaching St. Philip's he had already, as appears from his own letters produced at his trial, despaired of relieving it. Even from Gibraltar on the 4th of May, writing to the Lords of the Admiralty, he had stated his opinion that "throwing men into the castle will "only add to the numbers that must fall into the "enemy's hands,"—and that "if I should fail in

* Sentence of Court Martial, January 26. 1757. (Minutes p. 124.)

† Minutes of Trial, p. 19.

"the relief of Minorca I shall look upon the "security and protection of Gibraltar as my next "object."* He trembled not at danger,—but like many other weak men in high posts he did tremble at responsibility. He thought far more of shunning failure than of gaining success. On the 20th he might have advanced more eagerly to the support of West. On the 21st he might have been tempted by the partial success of West's division, even unassisted, to a renewed and vigorous attack. He should not have taken for granted that no naval victory would suffice to save the island. And, above all, he should have felt that even a defeat, had he sustained one, would be less ignominious to the British arms than a retreat without a blow. 1756.

The garrison of St. Philip's, however mortified at the disappearance of Admiral Byng from the coast, and at the FEUX DE JOIE which they heard fired on this account from all the French lines, still cherished a hope that the English fleet would be reinforced and sail back to their relief. Meanwhile they continued their defence with unabated spirit, insomuch that the Duke de Richelieu found it necessary to obtain further reinforcements from France. Thus the castle became invested by an army of 20,000 men, and battered day and night from 62 cannon, 21 mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms. Nevertheless the loss of men amongst the besieged was inconsiderable, since

* Minutes of Trial, p. 6.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

they could for the most part secure themselves in the subterranean works which were impervious to shells or shot. The works above ground, however, ere long presented more than one practicable breach. On the 27th of June the French marched up to the assault, headed by the Duke de Richelieu in person. Up to this time Richelieu had gained no distinction in arms. His conquests had been only those of gallantry; he could boast of thirty-five years incessant campaign in the saloons of Paris and Versailles. A fit general, no doubt, where Louis the Fifteenth was King! Yet on this occasion it must be owned that he displayed both courage and conduct. He still persevered in the attack, while whole ranks fell around him, while the entire glacis was covered with dead and dying, some from the musketry and grapeshot poured upon them in front, others from the mines sprung beneath their feet, and at length he stood victorious on the summit of the Queen's redoubt. Hitherto the two officers who had mainly contributed to the brave defence were Colonel Jeffreys and Major Cunningham, but in this assault the former was surrounded and taken prisoner, and the latter maimed in the right arm by the thrust of a bayonet. Thus the Governor was deprived at once of the most important outwork, and of his two principal assistants.

Under these circumstances,—a short truce being granted at Richelieu's request, to bury the dead and remove the wounded,—General Blakeney summoned a Council of War. Here opinions were

much divided. The one party represented that every expectation from the fleet was vain,—that the outworks were ruined,—that the body of the castle was shattered,—that the garrison, always insufficient in numbers, was now exhausted by hard duty and constant watchings; and that, therefore, it would be expedient to accept, if the enemy were disposed to offer, honourable terms of capitulation. On the other side, it was contended that as yet not above 100 of their men had fallen; and that the question whether or not there were any hopes of relief, was not for the Governor and garrison to determine; their duty was at all hazards to hold out the place to the last extremity. But the former arguments prevailing with the majority, a conference ensued, when the Duke de Richelieu agreed to grant good terms in consideration of the gallant defence. Thus the fortress was delivered over to the French, while the English marched out with all the honours of war, and were, according to the articles, conveyed by sea to Gibraltar.

When the tidings of Byng's retreat, and the consequent loss of Minorca, arrived in England, loud and fierce were the clamours. Justice,—or something more than justice,—was indeed done to Blakeney for his sturdy defence. But the Ministers were condemned for having neglected or procrastinated the proper measures of precaution; and, above all, the largest vials of popular wrath were poured on the devoted head of Byng. The only doubt with the nation seemed to be whether he was in

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

truth a traitor or a coward. In all the great towns the Admiral was burned in effigy. In Hertfordshire his house and park were attacked by the mob, and saved with difficulty. In London the streets and shops swarmed with contumelious ballads and caricatures. The general scarcity, and consequent excessive price, of corn at this period, was another element in the popular discontent. Addresses to the King came crowding in from many cities,—as London, Bristol, and Chester; from many counties,—as Dorset, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Bedford, Suffolk, Shropshire, Surrey, Somerset, and Lancaster,—all praying for an inquiry into the loss of Minorca, and for justice on the guilty. Instructions of a like nature were sent from the same places to their Members; not without a distant hint of stopping the supplies. Sir John Barnard, who attempted to stem the impulse in the City, grew almost as unpopular as Byng himself.* Vengeance! Vengeance!—was now the universal cry. Never since the days of the Excise and South Sea was such a flame remembered.

The Prime Minister at this time, the Duke of Newcastle, by no means endeavoured to divert this flame of popular resentment from Byng; on the contrary, he applied himself to feed and sustain it. He was most willing to sacrifice any of his Admirals, any of his Generals, or even any of his Cabinet colleagues, as a scapegoat for himself. One day,

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 29. 1756.

when a deputation from the City waited upon him with some representations against Byng, he blurted out, with an unfeeling precipitation which his folly ought not to excuse: "Oh, indeed, he shall be "tried immediately; he shall be hanged directly!"* On the same principle he attempted to cajole Fox into assuming the main responsibility.† On all possible points was the popular impulse flattered and complied with. No sooner had General Blakeney landed with his garrison at Portsmouth than he was created an Irish Baron. General Fowke, on the contrary, was brought to trial for disobedience of orders, and being found guilty was dismissed the service. But previously and chiefly,—Admiral Sir Edward Hawke was sent out to assume the command of the Mediterranean fleet, with orders to arrest Byng and West, and bring them prisoners to England. In July accordingly both were landed as prisoners. On full accounts, however, of the engagement on the 20th of May, West was soon and honourably distinguished from his chief; he was carried by Lord Anson to Court, where the King said to him: "I am glad to hear you "have done your duty so well; I wish every body "else had!" Byng, strictly guarded, was transferred for the present to safe custody at Greenwich. His younger brother, who had gone to meet him on his landing, was so affected with the first sight of

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 70.

† Dodington's Diary, May 17. 1756.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756.

the unhappy Admiral, and with the abuse of him which he found wherever he passed, that he fell ill, and died the next day in convulsions.

Even before the loss of Minorca,—almost as soon as the French descent upon the island became known in London,—on the 18th of May,—a Declaration of War had been issued against France. That war was now on the verge of becoming general in Europe.—But here let me pause for some detail of the position, and the prospects of the greater Powers.

No two sovereigns could be less friendly or well disposed towards each other than George and Frederick the Second. For several years the Prussian monarch had taken every opportunity of thwarting by his measures, and ridiculing by his conversation, his Royal uncle in England. He had resisted the payment of a just debt known by the name of the Silesian Loan. He had long withstood and at length successfully baffled the much-desired election of a King of the Romans. He had given every encouragement to the exiled partisans of the House of Stuart, hoping, it would seem, to take advantage of a revolution in England, and to seize for himself the Electorate of Hanover. To such lengths had he gone in this course, that we find in 1753 the Duke of Newcastle write of him as, "now avowedly the principal if "not the sole support of the Pretender."* Never-

* To Lord Hardwicke, September 21. 1753. See also a note to the Third Volume of this History, p. 520. second ed.

theless the force of circumstances,—a necessity stronger than affection,—brought at this juncture the two monarchs into a close, nay cordial, alliance. CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

A formidable confederacy of other powers was indeed now forming against the King of Prussia,—a confederacy provoked in part by his unprincipled ambition, but still more perhaps by his wanton wit. —The Empress Queen had never forgotten or forgiven the conquest of Silesia, nor the perfidy and treachery by which its conquest was achieved. Her high spirit panted to recover that lost jewel of her Crown. Her piety impelled her to wrest that Catholic province from heretic hands. For succour towards these cherished hopes she had looked in the first instance to her ancient ally the Court of England, but found that Power ill-disposed to plunge into another war for merely Austrian objects. She therefore next turned her views towards her ancient enemy, France, yielding in this respect to the persuasion of Count afterwards Prince Kaunitz, her trusted and ruling Minister during the whole remainder of her reign.* He had been recently Ambassador at Paris,—was a warm partisan of the idea of French alliance,—and knew how to render it most attractive to his sovereign, by holding

* Kaunitz is described by Baron Hormayer, as "un seigneur qui joignait à la légèreté d'un Français l'astuce d'un Italien et la profondeur Autrichienne." (Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte, 1831.) For some curious instances of the *légèreté*, see Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, &c., vol. ii. p. 458—468. ed. 1799.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

it forth as a religious combination of the great Catholic against the great Protestant Powers.

It seemed no easy task to detach the French Court from the system of policy against the House of Austria, which it had steadily pursued ever since the days of Henri Quatre,—alike under Richelieu or Mazarin,—under Louvois or Torcy. Yet there were not wanting strong arguments, both general and special, in behalf of a change. These long-contested and well-poised conflicts between the rival chief states had served only to exhaust and enfeeble themselves. One or other of the smaller powers alone had gathered the fruits of their exertions. The war of 1701 had profited most to the House of Savoy,—the war of 1741 to the House of Brandenburg. And how had the head of this House of Brandenburg requited France for the efforts and the sacrifices that led to his possession of Silesia?—By the grossest treacheries and breaches of faith,—second only to those which he had practised on Maria Theresa. But let once the old monarchies combine, and how easily might they divide the spoils of this ungrateful upstart! How readily, if Austria were allowed to seize the Prussian provinces in Germany, would she concede to France an extension of frontier from her own province of Belgium!

Such arguments, however specious, such offers, however tempting, would not probably have sufficed to turn the current of feeling which for nearly two centuries had flowed in the opposite channel.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756.

But besides the perfidy of the King of Prussia to France as a state, there were also personal, and far less pardonable, offences of Frederick against Louis the Fifteenth and his favourite mistress, Madame de Pompadour. Of Louis, Frederick always spoke and wrote with utter contempt as of a new Sardanapalus, and Louis was stirred to as much resentment as he was capable of feeling. Madame de Pompadour had at first professed high admiration for the Prussian hero, but found all her flattering messages receive only sarcastic replies. "When I," says Voltaire, "was going to Berlin, "and took my leave of Madame de Pompadour, "she bid me present her respects to the King of "Prussia. It was impossible to give a commission "more agreeable, or in a more graceful manner; "she did it with the greatest modesty imaginable, "—saying, 'If I might venture,' and 'If the "'King of Prussia will forgive my taking such a "'liberty.' I suppose that I must have delivered "this message amiss. For I, as a man filled with "respect for the Court of France, felt assured "that such compliments would be well received; "but the King answered me drily, 'I do not "'know her. This is not the land for swains "'and shepherdesses.'—Nevertheless I shall write "to Madame de Pompadour, that Mars has "welcomed as he ought the compliments of "Venus." * Other such answers found more

* Letter of Voltaire to his niece, Madame Denis, Aug. 11. 1750.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

accurate reporters. Frederick could not refrain from scoffing in the most public manner at a lady so frail, and a throne so degraded. A favourite lap-dog, his constant companion both by day and night*, received from him the nickname of "Pompadour," and he boasted that she did not cost him quite so much money as the other Pompadour did his brother at Versailles. He used to speak of Madame de Pompadour (not unjustly) as the true sovereign of France, and, in allusion to her predecessor, Madame de Chateauroux, called her's "the reign of Petticoat the Second." Nay, more, —while all the other ambassadors at Paris were vying for the notice of this haughty fair one, the Prussian alone,—the Baron de Knyphausen,—by his master's positive directions, refused to visit her. —As Frederick affected no peculiar austerity of principles,—as he sneered at the Christian faith, —as his own morals were, to say the least, not beyond suspicion,—we cannot vindicate these sallies on the plea of offended virtue. We can only wonder that a prince always so wary and politic

* Frederick had always a favourite greyhound, which sate on a chair at his side by day, and slept in his bed by night. There were also three or four other dogs kept, but chiefly, as we are told, "*zur gesellschaft des liebling's*," for society to the favourite one. They had a footman appointed to their especial care, and were driven from Potsdam to Berlin in a coach and six, the dogs on the hind seat, and the footman on the front. As they died, they were buried on the terrace of Sans Souci, and Frederick desires in his will to be interred by their side. (Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. i. p. 414—416.)

in his conduct should have been thus reckless and unguarded in his conversation. Endowed by nature with splendid genius for war, and with brilliant powers of satire, these gifts appeared to counteract each other; it needed during seven most perilous years the utmost exertion of the first to repair and retrieve the ill effect of the second. CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

After such insults as Madame de Pompadour had received from Frederick, can the reader doubt, or need I describe, how fierce a thirst for vengeance arose in the heart of the slighted woman? —On the other side the most delicate attentions were lavished upon her by the Empress Queen. Proud of her lofty lineage as seemed Maria Theresa,—pure and unsullied as was ever her matronly fame,—she could condescend to flatter the low-born mistress of another Sovereign, when Silesia came in view. With her own hand she wrote a letter to Madame de Pompadour, abounding in friendly expressions, and calling her by the title of "Cousin."—Similar, or perhaps still more solid, compliments were bestowed on Abbé de Bernis, afterwards Cardinal, the statesman in whom Madame de Pompadour most confided. By such means were overruled the maxims of the Ministers trained in the school of Louis the Fourteenth; by such means was concluded on the 1st of May 1756 the Treaty of Versailles, binding France to Austria, and aiming at the partition of the Prussian Monarchy.

Nearly the same scene passed in Russia.—There, the sovereign, the Czarina Elizabeth, was

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

of mild and gentle character. On her accession, for instance, she had promised that not a single criminal should be put to death during her reign; and she had kept her word. But she was a slave to such little feminine terrors as ghosts and spiders, thunderstorms and omens. One whole day she refused to sign a treaty because a wasp had been hovering round her pen!* Still more open to satire were the details of her private life. About a hundred grenadiers of her guard had wrought the sudden revolution that placed her on the throne, and of these it is alleged by grave historians that the greater number had already, at different times, attracted the personal and especial notice of their future Sovereign! † Against the Czarina's frailties, as against Madame de Pompadour's, Frederick loved to point his shafts of wit; nor did he spare invectives of another kind against Count Bestucheff, the Russian Chancellor and Prime Minister. Thus at Petersburg as at Paris Kaunitz found a ready ear when he first dropped proposals of alliance, and held out as a lure the Prussian provinces beyond the Vistula. The Court of Russia resolved to join its arms with Austria and France; and early in the winter renounced its recent treaty of subsidy with England. "However," says Lord Waldegrave,

* Rulhière, Anecdotes sur la Russie en 1763, en suite de l'Histoire de Pologne, vol. iv. p. 298. ed. 1807.

† Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxviii. p. 265. ed. 1842.

"though the Russians did not fulfil their engage- 1756.
"ments, they behaved with more generosity than
"is usual on the like occasions, for as they would
"not earn our money they refused to take it."*

Poland, enfeebled by her own elective Royalty and internal dissensions, could not be roused from an impotence which she disguised under the more specious name of neutrality. Her King, Augustus, as Elector of Saxony, resided mainly at Dresden, yielding the cares of state to his minister, Count Brühl, and secluding himself in a china palace, with buffoons and tame bears as his favourite companions.† The minister, profuse and grasping, was gained by Austria with the hope of Prussian territory for his master, and of further riches for himself; and entered confidentially and unreservedly, for the Saxon state, into all the designs of the new alliance.—Sweden, although the consort of her King was sister to Frederick, yielded to the ascendancy of France, her ancient ally, and to the prospect of acquiring a larger share of Pomerania.—Denmark and Holland, Spain and Portugal,—states none of them at that time of any great significance, —were left to their "exact neutrality."—But thus had five Powers whose united population exceeded 90,000,000 leagued themselves against a single kingdom with less than 5,000,000. Thus had sprung up, what Chatham terms in one of

* Memoirs, p. 42.

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 71. and 465

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

his letters, with some exaggeration, "the most "powerful and malignant confederacy that ever "yet has threatened the independence of man-"kind!" *

The schemes of the confederates were kept carefully secret; their preparations not being as yet completed; and their projected attack was postponed till the ensuing year. But a treacherous clerk, named Menzel, who was employed at Dresden in the secret departments of state, had sold to Frederick exact and timely tidings of the whole design. Even at the first rumours, Frederick had hastened to draw closer his union with England,—the only alliance that remained open to him,—while England, on her own part being already embroiled with France and deserted by Russia, was glad of such support. The personal antipathy of the two Sovereigns towards each other gave way to the political exigencies of the times. In January 1756 the Kings of England and Prussia concluded a convention, by which they reciprocally bound themselves during the troubles in America, not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatever, to enter or pass through Germany. The progress of hostilities would soon, Frederick foresaw, lead to further support from England. Meanwhile he surveyed his own situation with a keen and steadfast eye. Fraught with peril as it was,—hopeless as it might seem to others,—that great genius

* To Mr. A. Mitchell, March 31. 1757.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

did not despair. There was something, he well knew, to expect from the slowness, the jealousy, the want of concert to which all coalitions are prone. His army, though far inferior in numbers to the combined armies arraying against him, was at this time the best in Europe, and strong out of all proportion to the extent of his dominions. While his enemies were, for the most part, involved in debts, he had been laying up in the vaults of Magdeburg a treasure for the evil day. Above all, the Prussian resources, however slender, would be wielded against inferior and jarring leaders by one master-mind.

There was this further advantage on the side of Frederick,—his enemies were still unprepared, and he was ready. Finding that the storm was wholly inevitable, and must burst on him next year, he with bold sagacity determined to forestall it. First then, in August 1756, his Ambassador at Vienna had orders to demand of the Empress Queen a statement of her intentions, to announce war as the alternative, and to declare that he would accept no answer "in the style of an oracle." The answer, as he expected, was evasive. Without further delay an army of sixty thousand Prussians, headed by Frederick in person, poured into Saxony. The Queen of Poland was taken in Dresden: the King of Poland and his troops were blockaded in Pirna. Thus did Frederick commence that mighty struggle which is known to Germans by the name of the Seven Years War.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

The first object of the Prussian monarch at Dresden was to obtain possession of the original documents of the coalition against him, whose existence he knew by means of the traitor Menzel. The Queen of Poland, no less aware than Frederick of the importance of these papers, had carried them to her own bed-chamber. She sat down on the trunk which contained the most material ones, and declared to the Prussian officer sent to seize them that nothing but force should move her from the spot. This officer was of Scottish blood, General Keith, the Earl Marischal's brother. "All Europe," said the Queen, "would "exclaim against this outrage,—and then, Sir, you "will be the victim; depend upon it, your King "is a man to sacrifice you to his own honour!" Keith, who knew Frederick's character, was startled, and sent for further orders; but on receiving a reiteration of the first he did his duty. The papers were then made public, appended to a manifesto in vindication of Frederick's conduct; and they convinced the world that, although the apparent aggressor in his invasion of Saxony, he had only acted on the principles of self-defence.

Meanwhile, the Prussian army closely blockaded the Saxon in Pirna, but the Austrian, under Marshal Brown, an officer of British extraction, was advancing to its relief through the mountain passes of Bohemia. Frederick left a sufficient force to maintain the blockade, marched against Brown with the remainder, and gave him battle at Lowositz on

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

the 1st of October. It proved a hard-fought day; the King no longer found, as he says in one of his letters, the old Austrians he remembered*; and his loss in killed and wounded was greater than their's†; but victory declared on his side. Then retracing his steps towards Pirna he compelled, by the pressure of famine, the whole Saxon army, 17,000 strong, to an unconditional surrender. The officers were sent home on parole, but the soldiers were induced, partly by force and partly by persuasion, to enlist in the Prussian ranks, and swear fidelity to Frederick. Their former sovereign, King Augustus, remained securely perched on his castle-rock of Königstein, but becoming weary of confinement, solicited, and was most readily granted, passports to Warsaw. During the whole winter Frederick fixed his head-quarters at Dresden, treating Saxony in all respects as a conquered province, or as one of his own. Troops and taxes were levied throughout that rich and populous land with unsparing rigour, and were directed against the very cause which the sovereign of that land had embraced.

During this campaign, as during every other of Frederick, it is remarkable to what slight details that great genius could descend. Even at the out-

* To Marshal Schwerin, October 2. 1756. Orig. in German.

† The Prussians lost at Lowositz 3,308 men and 1,274 horses; the Austrians only 2,984 men and 475 horses. (Geschichte des sieben-jährigen Krieges vom Generalstab, s. 108. citirt von Preuss.)

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

'set, while negotiations were still pending,—while the question of peace or war yet hung in the balance, —down came a peremptory order from Potsdam, guarding against any officer carrying with him into the field any plate, even a single silver spoon. The same vigilant care runs through every other contingency. Vinegar, for example, never received so much attention from any other general,—not at least since the days of Hannibal! There are most minute directions how each Captain is to take under his charge one barrel of vinegar,—not for his own use, —not for any purpose of luxury,—but that the infusion of a few drops from it may correct the brackish water which soldiers are sometimes reduced to drink in their encampments.* Many minds can aspire to high designs. Many others can deal admirably well with any point of detail, though they are not large enough, as it were, to take in the whole of a subject. But it is this rare power of combining extensive schemes, with attention to the least trifle that may conduce to them, which, as it appears to me, forms the chief element of mental greatness and of human success.

The proceedings in America during this campaign seem trifling when compared to those in Germany. A detachment of the enemy was defeated by Colonel Bradstreet on the river Onondaga; on the other hand, the small forts of Ontario and Oswego were reduced by the French.

* See Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 7.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756.

During this summer Leicester House was not free from cabals, nor the Ministry from divisions. In June the Prince of Wales attained the age of eighteen,—that is, his majority under the Act of Regency. On this occasion the King made an effort to withdraw him from the Princess Dowager's control. He wrote him a gracious letter, stating his Royal intentions that the Prince should be allowed 40,000*l.* a year,—that a suitable establishment for him should be appointed,—and that he should henceforth occupy the apartments of the late Prince at Kensington and of the late Queen at St. James's. His Royal Highness, however, full of filial duty, returned for answer that he would accept with the greatest gratitude the Royal bounty,—but that he entreated His Majesty not to separate him from his mother, which would be a trying affliction to both.—Thus the King apprehended that he might have to give the money, and yet not obtain compliance with the intended condition.—Another difference immediately arose as to the choice of the principal person in the new Household. The Princess, and after her the Prince, had set their hearts on Lord Bute for Groom of the Stole,—an appointment to which the King entertained a strong repugnance,—the stronger perhaps as it was not explicitly avowed. A private Council, or, rather, meeting of friends, was summoned by His Majesty upon these family questions, and of their conference Lord Waldegrave, who was present, has left us a curious

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

account.* Nothing, however, was decided at this meeting, or at several others. At last, towards the beginning of October, Newcastle, not daring to meet the Parliament while Leicester House was dissatisfied, obtained the King's consent to both the points at issue,—that the Prince of Wales should continue with his mother,—and that the Earl of Bute should be Groom of the Stole. His Majesty could not, however, be persuaded to admit Bute into the Closet, and deliver to him the badge of his office in the customary form; so he gave the Gold Key to the Duke of Grafton, who slipped it into Bute's pocket, saying, he wished it could have been given in a more proper manner, but advising him to take no notice.

In the Ministry, Fox's heart had long been swelling at the falsehood, the perfidy, and the childishness of Newcastle. Though Secretary of State, he found all substantial power withheld, all intimate confidence denied. He saw himself involved in the ill success of measures upon which he had not been consulted,—upon which he had scarce been suffered to give an opinion. He saw the country in a flame at the loss of Minorca, and discerned the drift of the old intriguer at the Treasury, to cast, if possible, the burden from his own shoulders to the shoulders of his colleague. In October, therefore, as the meeting of Parliament approached, Fox asked an audience of the King,

* Memoirs, p. 66—68.

entered into a short statement of his grievances, and obtained His Majesty's permission to resign the Seals.

At this very period the Duke of Newcastle lost the only other speaker in Parliament who could cope with Pitt;—or who, according to Lord Waldegrave's expression, "had courage even to look "him in the face." * Sir Dudley Ryder, the Lord Chief Justice, had died this summer, after a short illness, and the very day before he was to have kissed hands for a peerage. Murray, both as Attorney General and as the best lawyer in Westminster Hall, had an undenied and undeniable claim to the vacant office. But Newcastle, eager to retain him in the House of Commons, plied him with various proposals,—a Tellership of the Exchequer,—or the Duchy of Lancaster for life,—or the Attorney Generalship, with a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. Nay, in the beginning of October Newcastle had bid up to 6,000*l.* a year of pension! All was in vain. Newcastle then, conceding the main point, began to haggle as to the time,—entreating Murray to remain in the House of Commons at least another Session,—at least one month,—at least one day,—the day of the Address, and to speak for it. Murray steadily refused. At length he was obliged to tell his friends in plain terms that if they did not think proper to make him Lord Chief Justice he was determined not to continue Attorney

* Memoirs, p. 82.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

General, and that as to the business of the House of Commons he should leave them to fight their own battles. This frank declaration had an immediate effect; and Murray obtained not only the Chief Justiceship but also a peerage under the title of Mansfield.

Still, however, Newcastle cherished the hope that he might by a new combination maintain his power. He prevailed upon the King that a flattering overture should be sent to Pitt; but Pitt, conscious of his own importance, absolutely refused to treat with the Duke. He declared, with some irony, that he had infinite respect for His Grace in his private capacity, but that a plain man, unpractised in the policy of a Court, must not presume to be the associate of so experienced a Minister.

Newcastle next tried Lord Egmont, to whom he offered the Seals of Secretary, and the lead of the House of Commons. Egmont was an able speaker, delighted in public business, and bore a high character in private life; but he had fixed his mind upon an English peerage. He refused to engage unless he were forthwith removed to the House of Lords, which was directly opposite to the Duke of Newcastle's object, the House of Commons being the only place where he wanted assistance. Thus, then, Egmont, placing no faith whatever in the Duke's assurances of a peerage at some future time, allowed this negotiation to drop.

Still untired whenever office was in view, Newcastle then proposed to Granville that they should

exchange places,—the Duke becoming Lord President, and the Earl First Lord of the Treasury, with power to construct as he pleased the new administration. How gladly ten years ago would Granville's ambition have leaped at such an offer! But now he had grown too old,—or, as he termed it, too wise. CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

At length, every expedient having been tried and having failed, and not a single commoner remaining of sense and character who would stand in the gap, or place any further trust in Newcastle,—the Duke most reluctantly resigned.* He was followed, to the general regret of the nation, by his constant friend, and the main pillar of his administration, the Earl of Hardwicke, whose advancing years had for some time past counselled retirement. Never has the high office of Chancellor been more uprightly, more learnedly, and more ably filled; and after him it was left in commission during the whole remainder of this reign.

* "The Duke of Newcastle has advertised in all the papers "that he retires without place or pension. Here is a list of his "disinterestedness. The reversion of his Dukedom for Lord "Lincoln. This is the only duchy bestowed by the present "King. On my father's resignation, the new Ministers did "prevail to have Dukedoms offered to Lord Northampton and "Lord Aylesbury, but both declined, having no sons. Mr. Shel- "ley, the Duke's nephew, has the reversion of Arundel's place. "Mr. West has a great reversion for himself and his son. "Your little waxen friend, Tommy Pelham, has another rever- "sion in the Customs. Jones, the Duke's favourite Secretary, "and nephew of the late Chancellor, has another." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 29, 1756.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

Sir George Lyttleton also was dismissed from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and Lord Anson from the Admiralty. The fall of the first, however, was softened by a peerage. He had shown little aptitude for business, but had gained general respect by his honesty, candour, and accomplishments. Anson had been justly renowned for courage, perseverance, and good judgment in his expedition round the globe, but had by no means obtained so high a character in office at home. From having been rated far too high in his abilities, he became, by a common and natural transition, unduly depressed; and a violent though ill-founded clamour had been lately raised against him for the loss of Minorca.

The ground being thus cleared, the King sent for Fox, inquired whether Pitt were willing to act with him in office, and bade him ascertain. Next day, accordingly, Fox went to the Prince's Levee, and taking Pitt apart at the head of the stairs, asked him if he was going to Stowe, as he would soon have a message of consequence by persons of consequence. Pitt answered: "One likes to say "things to men of sense, and of your great sense "rather than to others, and yet it is difficult even "to you."—"What!" said Fox, "you mean that "you will not act with me as a Minister?"—"I "do," rejoined Pitt.*

The intended coalition being thus nipped in the

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

bud, the King next applied to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, by his father's decease in the preceding winter, had become from Marquis of Hartington the fourth Duke of Devonshire. This nobleman was, like his father, naturally averse to public business, and engaged in it only from a sense of duty, but, like his father also, was highly esteemed by all parties for probity and truth. Dr. Johnson, for example, though opposed to the Duke in politics, bears a strong testimony to his character. "He "was not a man of superior abilities, but strictly "faithful to his word. If, for instance, he had "promised you an acorn, and none had grown that "year in his woods, he would not have been con- "tented with that excuse, he would have sent to "Denmark for it."* All the former intimacy, all the personal predilections of the Duke, tended to Fox; but, on assuming the commission with which the King had charged him, he found Fox distrusted by the people and excluded by Pitt, while Pitt himself was now regarded by the public as the only man able to steer the vessel of the state through the coming storm. It was therefore not with Fox, but with Pitt, that the Duke of Devonshire, notwithstanding his friendship for the former, combined. His Grace became First Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt Secretary of State, retaining, to gratify the King, Lord Holderness for his colleague. The

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, under the date September 22. 1777.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756.

Chancellorship of the Exchequer fell to Legge; the Admiralty to Pitt's brother-in-law, Earl Temple. The Duke of Bedford became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,—at the instigation, as is alleged, of Fox, and with a view, on Fox's part, to the future embarrassment of Pitt. Several of the late Cabinet, and many more in subordinate employments, remained, for Pitt had but few Parliamentary followers; he mainly relied on his Grenville connection, and, as Horace Walpole maliciously observes, "had not "cousins enough to fill the whole administration."

The new administration, however strong in talent, was, it soon appeared, greatly wanting as to Parliamentary interest and influence. These had been always too little valued and too little studied by Pitt. In these, on the contrary, Newcastle was ever predominant. Pitt himself found some difficulty in obtaining a seat. At the last dissolution he had been returned for Aldeburgh in Yorkshire, a borough under Pelham control; and on accepting the Seals, and excluding the Duke of Newcastle from power, Pitt could not of course apply to His Grace for re-election; but he availed himself of the opening afforded by Sir George Lyttleton's peerage, and became a successful candidate for Sir George's seat at Oakhampton.

A few days had sufficed to complete the new arrangements, and on the 2d of December the Session was opened by a Speech from the throne, which showed the hand of a new speech-maker. The uncourtly addresses of the preceding summer were

termed "signal proofs how dearly my subjects "tender my honour and that of my Crown." The scheme of a national Militia, to which His Majesty was well known to be no friend, was recommended "to the care and diligence of my Parliament." And, above all, His Majesty announced that he had given orders for the return of his Electoral troops in England to his dominions in Germany. But though George the Second, as a constitutional monarch, thus spoke to his Parliament in the language of his Ministers, he did not attempt in his private conversation to conceal his real sentiments. Thus on one occasion, being informed that an impudent printer was to be punished for publishing a spurious Royal Speech, he answered that he hoped the man's punishment would be of the mildest sort, because he had read both, and, as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own!* 1756.

For the Electoral troops in England, they had been encamped during the whole summer, the Hessians near Winchester, the Hanoverians near Maidstone. But when the cold season came on the magistrates were advised that they were not obliged by law to billet foreigners in public houses, nor the owners of such houses to receive them; thus the poor soldiers were left in their camps, exposed to the wind and rain, until the transports came for

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 89. See also the Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 779.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1756.

their return.* Under all circumstances the conduct of these troops had been, not only free from all exception, but exemplary, for their discipline, good order, and sobriety. But the imprudence of one of their chiefs had revived the clamours against them. One day a Hanoverian soldier buying four handkerchiefs at Maidstone took away the whole piece, which contained six. All parties have since allowed that the man did it by mistake, and without any design of fraud; but in the first impulse a robbery was sworn against him, and he was committed to jail. The commanding officer, Count Kilmanseg, ignorant of constitutional law, and much incensed at this instance of it, despatched an express with his complaint; and the Secretary of State, Lord Holderness, scarcely less ignorant than Kilmanseg, signed an arbitrary warrant for the soldier's release. In a few days, however, the rising popular voice gave both Holderness and his Master cause to repent his rashness, and, so far as they could, to disavow it. The angry Count was ordered to retire without taking leave, and the poor soldier to receive 300 lashes.—This affair occurred, —as indeed might be guessed from the pusillanimous termination to it,—while the Duke of Newcastle was still at the head of the Government.

After the change, however, and when the King's

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 4. 1756. Next Session the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington, brought in a Bill to remedy this defect in the law, and it passed without opposition.

speech had announced the recall of these Electoral troops, the new First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Devonshire, had inserted in the Lords Address an expression of thanks to His Majesty for having brought them over. This seemed no undue or unreasonable compliment, since the King had summoned these troops to England at the express request of both Houses of Parliament. But the new First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl Temple, being confined to his bed by illness, had not been consulted on this clause in the Address. Much offended at the neglect, he appeared in the House of Lords at some risk to his health,—at the hazard of his life, as he declared,—to represent the grievous enormity and the fatal consequences of the intended compliment. He delivered a long harangue, and then strode again out of the House; "with a thorough conviction," says Lord Waldegrave, "that such weighty reasons must be quite "unanswerable;" nevertheless, on his departure, the Address was passed unanimously.

Pitt himself, almost from the day of his appointment, became bed-ridden with the gout, and could take but little part in the Parliamentary campaign. When he did appear, warm and repeated altercations passed between him and Fox. At Council his enemies accused him of being haughty and visionary; after one meeting Lord Granville exclaimed: "Pitt used to call me madman, but I "never was half so mad as he is!"*

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 116.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1756. The earliest business to which the House of Commons applied itself was the distress arising from the dearth of corn. On the very first day of the Session Resolutions were proposed, and passed, to prohibit for a limited time the export of grain, flour, and biscuit. A Bill, in conformity with these Resolutions, was speedily carried, and an Address presented to the Crown, that an embargo might forthwith be laid upon all ships laden with such cargoes in the ports of Great Britain. By another measure for the same object,—to guard against the high price of bread,—it was enacted, that for several months to come no spirits should be distilled from wheat or barley;—a measure, however, which did not pass without strenuous opposition from the brewers.

1757. Nor were measures wanting, either from the House of Commons or the Government, towards the vigorous prosecution of the war. 55,000 men were granted for the sea service, and 45,000 for the land; and reinforcements were despatched to the Earl of Loudoun, the new Commander-in-Chief in the American plantations, while fresh regiments were raising at home. The total supplies granted for the current year amounted to 8,300,000*l.*, the National Funded Debt being at the outset of the war about 72,000,000*l.*, and having decreased but 6,000,000*l.* in the seven years of peace since the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.*

* Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, book v. ch. 3.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

It was also at this period that Pitt commenced his bold, yet, as it proved, most safe and wise policy, of raising Highland regiments from the lately disaffected clans. I have already alluded to this measure by anticipation *; let me now add only the glowing words which Chatham himself applied to it in retrospect. "My Lords, we should "not want men in a good cause. I remember "how I employed the very rebels in the service "and defence of their country. They were re- "claimed by this means; they fought our battles; "they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties "which they had attempted to overthrow but a "few years before!" †

Another measure of public defence was the new modelling of a national Militia. A Bill for this object, which Pitt proposed, had passed the Commons' House in a former Session, but was rejected in the Lords, mainly by the interposition of Lord Hardwicke. It continued, however, a favourite object with Pitt, and was again introduced by Colonel George Townshend, eldest son of Lord Townshend, and brother of Charles. There was a strong disposition in the House that the new Militia might be exercised on Sundays, according to the practice of several states abroad, as, for example, several Protestant cantons of Switzerland.

* See Vol. III. p. 26. second ed.

† Speech in the House of Lords, December 2. 1777. See Thackeray's Life, vol. ii. p. 339.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

Pitt himself gave a guarded consent to such a scheme *, and the Church at this time remained apparently, if not consenting, at least passive, but petitions against it came in from several bodies of Protestant Dissenters, and the design was dropped.

After many discussions in the Commons, the Bill was sent to the Upper House, where it underwent several amendments, especially the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the Commons had proposed, namely, to 32,340 for England and Wales; and thus the measure became law. During its agitation and its progress it had been most highly popular with the nation at large. No sooner had it passed, however, than it was discovered to press heavily on the very persons who had clamoured for it, and the tide of national feeling was completely turned. Several tumults on this account ensued in the course of the year; at Sevenoaks, for example, the mansion of the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the county, was in

* "What if they should be exercised on Sundays after "Church?—unless the Clergy or Dissenters disapproved it; he "would retract this proposal if it gave offence." (Pitt's speech, December 8. 1755.—Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 449.) In the Upper House none of the Bishops appear to have raised any objection to the Sunday exercising, but Lord Hardwicke said in the course of his speech: "If this institution "should be established by a law, I will venture to foretell, "that, notwithstanding the injunction to go to Church, it will "be a constant fair and scene of jollity in the several parishes "where those exercises are kept, and the face of religion will "soon be abolished in this country." See the corrected report in the Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 739.

danger from the mob *, and it is scarcely possible to conceive how high the popular discontent would have risen had the popular desire in favour of the Bill as it stood in the Commons been indulged to its full extent.

Still greater was the chance of popular disfavour when, in the course of the Session, Pitt brought down a message from His Majesty, asking for aid in the defence of his Electoral dominions,—and when, in pursuance of this message, Pitt rose to move a grant of 200,000*l.* It passed without any opposition, but not without many sneers. Fox, above all, was forward in denouncing the inconsistency between Pitt's former philippics and his present proposals. It was, no doubt, easy to contrast the very strong expressions which Pitt had often let fall against Hanover with the no less strong expressions that he now began to use in its behalf,—such as that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire,—or that he would conquer America in Germany! Yet, making some allowance (and I own no small one) for oratorical exaggerations, and for Pitt's natural vehemence of temper, there appears no real divergence of principles or conduct. Pitt's principles were consistently such as before his admission to the Cabinet he had ex-

* Earl Stanhope to Mr. Pitt, October 3. 1757, and Mr. Pitt's reply. See Appendix. In the former debates on this Bill Horace Walpole tells us that "Lord Stanhope spoke well on "its behalf." (Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 45.)

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

plained them to the Duke of Newcastle.* He would not support any English war for German objects. He would not show any preference to Hanover above Hesse or Holland or Prussia, or any other foreign and friendly state. But, although he would not consent that Hanover should be the better for her connection with England, he would not consent that she should be the worse. He would not consent to put her below Hesse or Holland or Prussia. He would not consent that her Elector should be overwhelmed and despoiled merely because our King was asserting the interests and the rights of his realm. Now such was precisely the case at issue. The French were preparing to invade the Electorate, not from any injury, real or pretended, which the Electorate had done them, but notoriously and avowedly as a side-blow against George the Second,—as a retaliation for the measures adopted by His Majesty in British America and India. Would it then be generous,—would it even be barely just,—to suffer the Electorate to fall unaided in a British cause?

This clear principle of action,—this broad distinction between the wars of 1741 and 1756,—was, I believe, accurately discerned by the nation; nor does it appear that Pitt's proposal for assisting Hanover at this juncture lost him any portion, however small, of his rising popularity.

Nor can it be pretended that the King, while he

* See *ante*, pp. 75. 76.

requested the aid of our resources, was sparing of his own. The yearly income of Hanover might average at that period half a million sterling; of which His Majesty had ever since his accession laid up a considerable share. All this money he now, notwithstanding his parsimonious temper, readily applied to the defence of his Electorate. A Memorial drawn up by his commands in 1758, and shown to Speaker Onslow, states that he had already expended in the war 2,500,000*l.*, the savings of thirty years, besides borrowing 200,000*l.* in Germany, and as much in England. "The "King," concluded the Memorial, "can do no "more himself towards the war."*

No sooner had the new administration been installed than it had to deal with the case of Byng. His Court Martial was held at Portsmouth, presided by Admiral Smith, an illegitimate brother of Lord Lyttleton; it began in December 1756, and continued through great part of January. Besides his defence before his judges the Admiral had published a statement in his vindication. Thus far he certainly succeeded in proving,—that many and flagitious arts had been employed to blacken him. It was shown how his own letters and reports to the Admiralty had been garbled and perverted before they were allowed to appear in the Gazettes, so as to give some colour to the charge of cowardice; thus the words "making the best of

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 457.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

"my way to Gibraltar" were substituted for the real passage, "making my way to cover Gibraltar." Before the Court Martial many witnesses were examined on both sides, eliciting the facts as I have already endeavoured to relate them. Towards the close of the proceedings an express was despatched to the Admiralty in London to inquire, on the part of the officers of the Court, whether they were at liberty to mitigate an article of war on which they had doubts. They were answered in the negative. Their doubts related to the 12th of the articles, which had been new-modelled some years before, and which, to strike the greater terror into remiss or careless officers, left no alternative but death as the punishment on neglect of duty. Thus confined to the rigorous bounds of the law the Court Martial framed their sentence, fully acquitting the Admiral either of treachery or of cowardice, but declaring that in their unanimous opinion he had not done his utmost, either to relieve St. Philip's Castle or to defeat the French fleet. They therefore pronounced that he fell under part of the 12th article, and, as the law required, adjudged him to be shot to death. But with the same unanimity the Court declared that on weighing all the circumstances of the case they most earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy to the Crown.

The Admiral's conduct during his imprisonment had on some points appeared ill-judged and froward, but was throughout manly and firm.—When one

of his friends was endeavouring to inform him, by degrees, of his sentence, and dropping a hint of ill news, Byng started, and exclaimed: "What! "they have not put a slur on me, have they?"— apprehending that they had condemned him for cowardice. On being assured that they had not, his countenance at once resumed its serenity, and he went to hear the sentence of his death pronounced with the utmost calmness and composure.

In almost any other Court, or almost any other case, an unanimous recommendation to mercy from the judges would be treated as conclusive. Not so was it held in the case of Byng. The English people were still chafed at their loss of Minorca, and clamorous for a victim. Anonymous letters reached His Majesty's hands, with threats, if he should venture to pardon. Handbills were posted up, with the paltry rhyme, and more paltry sentiment; HANG BYNG, OR TAKE CARE OF YOUR KING. Some of the late Administration were base enough to hope that the sacrifice of the Admiral would be their own vindication. And, above all, each party was lying in wait eager to charge and denounce the others upon the slightest symptom as favourers of Byng.

At this crisis the conduct of Pitt appears to me in no small degree deserving of honour and respect. He saw the tide of popular opinion running decidedly and strongly against Byng. And it was on popular opinion only that Pitt himself leant for support. He could not trust to dexterous

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

cabals, like Fox, nor to Royal favour, as once Granville, nor to patronage of boroughs, like Newcastle. Yet this public feeling, which alone had borne him to office, which alone could maintain him in office, he now, when he deemed justice at stake, deliberately confronted and withstood. He openly declared in the House of Commons his wish that the King's prerogative might be exerted in mitigation of the sentence, adding that he thought more good would come from mercy than from rigour. To His Majesty in private Pitt detailed whatever other relenting indications had, though timidly, appeared in the debate, and said that the House of Commons wished to see the Admiral pardoned. "Sir," replied the King, "you have "taught me to look for the sense of my subjects "in another place than in the House of Com-"mons!" * This answer His Majesty designed as a severe reproof,—yet how high is the compliment which in truth it conveys!

The Royal ear had been, however, prepossessed by other advisers, and remained deaf to all arguments for the mitigation of the sentence. His Majesty appears to have entertained the opinion,—in common with a large majority of his subjects at the time,—that some rigorous example was required for the future discipline of the Navy. One of Voltaire's tales has well portrayed this prevailing idea, when he makes his imaginary traveller land

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 157.

at Portsmouth, and witness the execution of an Admiral who is shot, as he is told, on purpose to encourage the others!*—Voltaire, however, did not confine himself to satire on this subject; having received by accident from the Duke de Richelieu a letter containing some laudatory expressions on Byng, he sent it over to the unfortunate Admiral to be used in his defence,—an act of much humanity, but of no result.† 1757.

No where did the Admiral find more strenuous intercessors than among his former judges. Several of the Court Martial were constantly urging the Admiralty with entreaties that his life might be spared. One of them, Captain Augustus Keppel, authorised Horace Walpole the younger, and he in his turn authorised Sir Francis Dashwood, to declare to the House of Commons that Keppel and some of his brethren desired a Bill to absolve them from their Oath of Secrecy, as they had something of weight to say in relation to their sentence. Keppel was himself a Member of the House, but too bashful to speak in public. Being, however, generally called upon to rise and explain himself, after Sir Francis's communication, he again expressed his wish, and named four other Members of the Court as concurring in it. There was here, however,

* "Dans ce pays çi il est bon de tuer de temps en temps un "Amiral pour encourager les autres!" (Candide, chap. 23.)

† Correspondance de Voltaire, vol. iv. p. 424. 432. et 450. ed. 1825. See also Sir John Barrow's Life of Lord Anson, p. 275.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

some misapprehension on his part or some treachery on their's, since of these four, two afterwards disclaimed what Keppel had alleged in their name. "The House," says an eye-witness, "was wonder-"ously softened."* Next day the King sent a message, through Pitt, announcing that he had respited the Admiral's execution while these suggestions for disclosures were in progress. A Bill to absolve the Members of the Court Martial from their Oath of Secrecy was accordingly brought in by Sir Francis Dashwood, supported by Pitt, and cavilled at by Fox. "Is it proper," asked he, "that a set of judges should go about for three "weeks, hearing solicitations from the friends of "the prisoner, and then come and complain of their "own sentence?" The Bill was carried rapidly and tumultuously by 153 against 23. But in the Upper House it was treated with judicial accuracy and precision by two chiefs of the Law,—Lords Hardwicke and Mansfield. They examined at their Bar separately and on oath every member of the Court Martial, requiring answers especially to these two questions: "Whether you know any "matter that passed previous to the sentence upon "Admiral Byng which may show that sentence "to have been unjust?" And, "Whether you "know any matter that passed previous to the "said sentence which may show that sentence to "have been given through any undue practice

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, March 3. 1757.

"or motive?"* To the general surprise every Member of the Court Martial,—even Keppel himself,—answered both these questions in the negative. It thus plainly appeared that the Bill owed its origin rather to kind feeling than to settled judgment, and that its whole foundation had now crumbled away; it was accordingly rejected by the Lords, not without some expressions of contempt for the haste and heedlessness of the House of Commons.†

No further obstacles interposed, and the completion of the tragedy was fixed for the 14th of March. Byng's whole behaviour was most manly,—equally unaffected and undaunted. A few days before one of his friends standing by him said, "Which of us is tallest?" He answered, "Why "this ceremony? I know what it means; let "the man come and measure me for my coffin." More than once he declared his satisfaction that at least he was acquitted of cowardice, and his conviction that he had acted throughout to the utmost of his ability. These sentiments were also expressed in a written paper, which he delivered to the Marshal of the Admiralty a few moments before his execution. For some time past he had been confined on board the Monarque in Portsmouth harbour; he now desired to be shot on

* Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 815., &c.

† "Lord Marchmont and Lord Hardwicke treated the House "of Commons with the highest scorn." (Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 187.)

CHAP. XXXIII. 1757.

the quarterdeck, and not in the place assigned to common malefactors. At the appointed hour of noon he walked forth with a firm step, and placed himself in a chair, refusing to kneel or allow his face to be covered, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear. Some officers around him, however, represented that his looks might confuse the soldiers, and distract their aim, on which he submitted, saying, "If it will "frighten them, let it be done; they would not "frighten me." His eyes were bound; the soldiers fired, and Byng fell.

On reviewing the whole of this painful transaction it appears just to acknowledge that, notwithstanding the party insinuations of that time, the officers of the Court Martial were swayed only by pure and honourable motives. They judged right, as I conceive, in pronouncing that Byng did not do as much as he might have done for the relief of Minorca; they judged right in acquitting him both of treachery and cowardice. But they seem to me to err when they proceed to apply to the case of Byng the severe penalties prescribed by the 12th Article of War. They confound the two ideas—neglect of duty and error of judgment. It was not from any heedless omission that the Admiral had failed to pursue the French fleet, or to relieve the English garrison; it was from inferior talent and inferior energy of mind. To such deficiencies the 12th article, with its penalty of death, was clearly not intended to apply. But further still, sup-

posing the sentence passed, it was surely no light stain on the Royal Prerogative, or on those who wielded it, to set at nought the unanimous recommendation of the judges. To deny the claim of mercy in such a case could scarcely be palliated even by the strongest motives of State-policy. In truth, however, all sound State-policy points in the opposite direction. Whenever a disproportionate severity is applied to an involuntary fault, the sure result, after a short interval, is to enlist public sympathy on the side of the sufferer, to change condemnation into pity, and to exalt any ordinary officer, who has acted to the best of his small abilities, into the fame of a hero and a martyr.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1757.

NOTWITHSTANDING the readiness that Pitt had shown for the support of Hanover, he had by no means succeeded in surmounting the aversion of the King. Early in 1757 His Majesty sent for Lord Waldegrave, as his personal friend, to hear his complaints. According to Waldegrave's own testimony (and there can be none higher), the King, who had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspense, expected that those who talked to him on business should come at once to the point. Now Pitt and Lord Temple, being orators even in familiar conversation, endeavoured to guide His Majesty's passions, and to convince his judgment, according to the rules of rhetoric.*

In the King's own statement to Lord Waldegrave, however, a wide distinction was made between Pitt and Temple. "The Secretary," said His Majesty, "makes me long speeches, which, possibly, may be "very fine, but are greatly beyond my comprehen- "sion; and his letters are affected, formal, and

* Memoirs, p. 90.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

" pedantic. But as to Temple, he is so disagree-
" able a fellow that there is no bearing him. When
" he attempts to argue he is pert, and sometimes
" insolent; when he means to be civil he is exceed-
" ingly troublesome, and in the business of his
" office he is totally ignorant." Above all, His Majesty resented a parallel with which the First Lord of the Admiralty had indulged him between Byng's behaviour at Minorca and the King's own conduct at Oudenarde in 1708, giving a preference to the former, and thus leaving His Majesty to draw the inference, that if Byng deserved to be shot, his Royal Master must deserve to be hanged!—It may seem incredible that any Minister, even Lord Temple, should be thus rash and presuming, yet the narrative of Lord Orford to that effect will be found substantially confirmed by Lord Waldegrave.*

In this state of feeling the King proceeded to inquire of Waldegrave how far the Duke of Newcastle might be disposed to return to office. Waldegrave replied that the Duke was almost equally balanced at that juncture between his thirst for place and his dread of danger. " I know," rejoined His Majesty, " that he is apt to be afraid, therefore
" go and encourage him; tell him that I do not
" look upon myself as King whilst I am in the hands
" of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get
" rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assist-

* Compare Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 197. with Lord Waldegrave's, p. 94.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

"ance, and that he may depend on my favour and "protection."—Newcastle, however, continued in all the agonies of irresolution; sometimes his ambition and sometimes his fears predominated; and whatever he said one day he was sure to unsay the next. Above all, he was daunted at a notice in the House of Commons for a Parliamentary Inquiry on the loss of Minorca. Of this Inquiry Charles Townshend had undertaken the management, and it was certain to want neither skill nor bitterness in his hands. Now, then, the Duke apprehended that were he, by a premature acceptance of office, to incense the opposite party beyond all bounds, they might be inclined to press for a vote of censure on his conduct before and during the siege of St. Philip's. If, on the contrary, he remained aloof, the result might probably be a vote of acquittal to the late administration. On the whole, therefore, and after much wavering on his part, both he and Waldegrave counselled the King to delay the dismissal of Pitt and Temple until after the supplies were voted, and the Inquiries closed.

Another train of events, however, brought matters to a speedier crisis. The King had during the winter mustered his Electoral army at Hanover for the defence of his dominions, and to the command of that army he appointed the Duke of Cumberland. The time for action was now close at hand, and the Duke's departure for his post became of pressing importance. But the Duke had conceived a strong prejudice against Pitt as an Anti-

Hanoverian, and felt most reluctant to commence his operations with such a Secretary of State to control them. He urged the King at all hazards to dismiss his Ministers before His Royal Highness embarked, and this importunity of a favourite son prevailed over all the dictates of prudence.

On the 5th of April, accordingly, Lord Holderness went to Lord Temple to inform him that the King would dispense with his further services. It was hoped that Pitt would have immediately resigned upon this provocation, but he wisely resolved to leave the whole responsibility of the change with his opponents. A few days later he received his expected dismissal, and was forthwith followed by Legge and others of inferior note. Lord Winchilsea accepted the Admiralty; but the Seals were offered round and round, and on all sides refused; the offers descended even to the level of Sir Thomas Robinson. Yet the Duke of Cumberland was so ignorant or so heedless of the workings of the British Constitution as to be full of exultation when he embarked in the midst of this uncertainty. "At all events," he said, "the King cannot be in a "worse condition than he has been." "Yes, Sir," answered General Conway; "but he will, if Mr. Pitt "gets the better!"

The public attention was now turned to the long expected and pompously announced Inquiry which was to commence on the 19th of April. Of this scene a sketch is given us by Horace Walpole, so characteristic even of many a later House of Com-

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

mons and of more modern Members, that it must carry conviction of its truth and reality to every man of Parliamentary experience. "The House "of Commons in person undertakes to examine "all the intelligence, letters, and orders of the admi- "nistration that lost Minorca. In order to this, "they pass over a whole winter; then they send for "cartloads of papers from all the offices, leaving it "to the discretion of the clerks to transcribe, in- "sert, or omit whatever they please, and without "inquiring what the accused Ministers had left or "secreted. Before it was impossible to examine "these with any attention, supposing they were "worth any, the whole House goes to work, sets "the clerk to reading such bushels of letters that the "very dates fill three-and-twenty sheets of paper; he "reads as fast as he can; nobody attends, every "body goes away; and to-night they determined "that the whole should be read through on to-mor- "row and Friday, that one may have time to digest "on Saturday and Sunday what one had scarce "heard, cannot remember, nor is it worth while! "And then on Monday, without asking any ques- "tions, examining any witnesses, authority or "authenticity, the Tories are to affirm that the "Ministers were very negligent,—the Whigs that "they were wonderfully informed, discreet, provi- "dent, and active!" *

Yet such is the Assembly which (admirable as

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 20. 1757.

it is for the strife and encounter of parties) has again and again presumed to array itself against COURTS OF LAW, and believes itself equally or better fitted to dispense impartial justice!

During the Inquiry Pitt was disabled by gout, and it was imagined would gladly seize that ground for non-attendance. In truth, his appeared no easy part to play. Into whichever scale he threw his weight that scale would probably prevail. But if he leaned towards a vote of acquittal he would relieve his rival Fox from danger, and might put his own popularity to hazard. If he leaned towards a vote of censure, he would close the door for ever against any combination with Newcastle and with Newcastle's followers. Nevertheless the "Great Commoner" (for so by a slight anticipation I may already term him), disdaining to shrink, appeared in his place, and sat through the long and irksome discussion, his body swathed in riding coats, his right arm dependent in a sling. He showed none of that resentment, none of that thirst for vengeance, which so proud a spirit might have been expected to feel at so recent, so unmerited, so ungracious a dismissal. On the second day, indeed, he threatened, with some vehemence, to secede, and publish to the world the iniquity of the majority. But, except in this sudden sally, his tone was calm, temperate, and lenient. He said that he should prefer merely printing the examination, and leaving the public to judge for themselves. Nor was the course which the House

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

of Commons finally adopted much more decisive than this suggestion. A series of fifteen resolutions was passed, which, after minutely recapitulating the state of affairs and the distribution of forces in April 1756, proceeded to declare that no greater number of ships or of troops could be sent than were sent to the relief of Minorca. This last sentence, however, was not obtained without much difficulty; several of the most respectable followers of Newcastle or Fox voted in the minority on this occasion, and many more walked away without voting, thus endeavouring to spare alike their consciences and their friends. On the whole, this result might be considered in the light of a qualified acquittal, though equally removed from the vote of approbation which Newcastle and Fox had hoped and designed, and from the vote of censure which their opponents had demanded.

Meanwhile the public resentment, like a strong and rushing tide, had set in from all parts of the country at the news of Pitt's dismissal. The loss of Minorca was held forth as only the type of other and greater losses to come. Nothing but disaster was foreboded should men so much despised as Newcastle or so much hated as Fox be entrusted with the supreme direction of the war. In London the Common Council met and passed some strong resolutions. The Stocks, now so slightly if at all stirred by any Ministerial changes, fell. The chief towns,—Bath, Chester, Worcester, Norwich, Salisbury, Yarmouth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and many more—sent

the freedom of their city to Pitt. "For some weeks," says Horace Walpole, "it rained gold boxes." Exeter, with an affectation of old British spirit that looked like parsimony in disguise, sent its box of heart of oak.—In all these tokens of honour, these tributes of regret, Legge received an equal share with Pitt, for, however unlike in talent or renown, both were for the moment conjoined by the same principles, and by their common dismissal.* 1757.

On the close of the Inquiry,—that great obstacle, as it appeared, to any new Ministerial combination,—the King lost no time in renewing his overtures to Newcastle. It had now become the Duke's wish,—scared as he was at the popular clamours,—to attempt a junction with Pitt. But finding on application that Pitt haughtily insisted on retaining in his own hands the entire direction of the war and of Foreign Affairs, and on Newcastle confining himself to the special business of the Treasury, and even there with a Board composed of Pitt's followers,—the Duke broke off the treaty in anger, not yet sufficiently humbled to consent to be only a nominal Minister. Nay, in his first indignation, he even pledged himself by a solemn promise to His Majesty, that since the "Great Com-

* A caricature was current at this time, representing Pitt and Legge as Don Quixote and Sancho Pança in the same triumphal car,—and adding a well-chosen motto from Juvenal,

"Et sibi Consul
Ne placeat, servus curru portatur eodem."

(Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 202.)

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

moner" was thus unreasonable, the Duke would never coalesce with him, but would form a Ministry independent of his aid. The King's desire at this time was to see Newcastle and Fox combine; but the former shrank from any connection with the great and growing unpopularity of the latter. Besides, as he reflected, that combination had been already tried,—and what effect had it wrought? Neither concord in the Cabinet nor yet stability in Parliament.—On the whole, then, excluding both Pitt and Fox from his thoughts, Newcastle reverted to his first and favourite scheme of governing alone, with none but dependents and underlings for office in the House of Commons. He resolved, in pursuance of these views, to take the Treasury, to appoint Dr., now Sir George, Lee as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to cajole Sir Thomas Robinson into resuming the Seals. To this scheme the King gave his consent, and every thing seemed ready to commence its execution, when it was again suspended on some fresh irresolutions and waverings of the "aspen Duke," as Horace Walpole not unaptly terms him.

For a long time, amidst all these struggles and intrigues,—nearly three months from first to last,—did England remain without a Government,—while Parliament was still sitting,—while there was a formidable war to wage. "In our present unaccountable state," writes an experienced observer, "no man knows who is Minister, and who not. "We inquire here, as the old woman at Amsterdam

"did long ago, OU DEMEURE LE SOUVERAIN?"* Yet it is only justice to acknowledge that this state of no Government,—when the temporary holders of office refrained from all great enterprises or far-sighted views, and would transact none but the most ordinary and needful business,—was little, if at all, worse than the state of Government when Newcastle had been at its head! CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

The design of Newcastle to become again the only responsible Minister seemed to presage great confusion, and gave much alarm to all thinking persons interested in the permanence of the British Monarchy. Not last amongst these were the Princess Dowager and her little Council. She resolved to make an effort to show the Duke the dangers of the path he was pursuing, and at the same time to draw from Pitt, if possible, some mitigation of his terms. For this purpose, and as a mediator between them, she pitched upon Lord Chesterfield; sent Lord Bute to sound him, and succeeded in obtaining his assistance. "Certainly," says Lord Waldegrave, "they could not have chosen a more "prevailing negotiator than the Earl of Chesterfield. "For, besides being a man of letters and a wit, "which carries great weight and authority with "the dull and ignorant, he had distinguished him-"self as a man of business in many of the highest "offices, and, having given up all Ministerial views "of his own, might now very justly be esteemed a

* Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, August 15. 1757.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

"man totally unprejudiced and disinterested.—He "wrote a very able letter to the Duke of Newcastle, "the purport of which was, that his administration "would never be strong and permanent till he was "firmly united with Pitt and Leicester House."* On the other hand, he also exerted his influence with Pitt (of whom he had been an early friend and correspondent†), and prevailed upon him to relax a little, and but a very little, from his first demands.

There were undoubtedly at this time the strongest reasons both for Newcastle and for Pitt to desire a junction. Newcastle had fallen, and might fall again, for want of eloquent support in the House of Commons, and of popular favour out of doors. Pitt had fallen, and might fall again, for want of that Court-craft, that borough interest, that Parliamentary connection, which Newcastle had spent a long life and a large fortune in acquiring. Singly each was weak; united they would be irresistible. And if the Duke could be brought to confine himself to his favourite department of patronage,—to strengthen his boroughs,—to pamper his hangers-on,—to make or to unmake tide-waiters and excisemen,—Pitt would have power to pursue unchecked his vast designs for the nation's pre-eminence and glory.

Both statesmen accordingly entered more readily

* Memoirs, p. 110.

† See the two first letters in the Chatham Correspondence, dated 1741.

than might have been at first sight expected into Chesterfield's views, and held several conferences, under his mediation and Bute's. Articles of peace and amity were agreed upon, and a plan of administration was framed. But the King disapproving these proposals, and calling upon Newcastle to perform his recent and solemn promise, was met by a direct breach of faith,—the Duke now refusing to take part in any administration unless he had the assistance of Pitt and his associates. "He has now "proved himself," said His Majesty, "what I have "long thought him,—equally false and ungrateful. "I believe that few princes have been exposed to "such scandalous treatment!"

Thus incensed, the King threw himself into the arms of Fox, who consented to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, while His Majesty pressed upon Lord Waldegrave, as his personal friend, the First Lordship of the Treasury. It was with great reluctance that Lord Waldegrave obeyed; but, once embarked, he acted with both spirit and judgment. The Earl of Egremont was to become Secretary of State, the Earl of Winchilsea to continue First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl Granville Lord President. All the other arrangements were nearly completed, when the Duke of Newcastle, terrified at the prospect of an administration formed without his aid, had recourse to an expedient which he had kept in reserve, and which he hoped would effectually embarrass His Majesty's affairs. This was to urge on the resignations of those who still

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

remained in office. At his secret instigation, accordingly, Lord Holderness, the other Secretary of State, waited on the King at Kensington to resign his employment. Such a step at such a juncture was resented by his Royal Master as a signal act of ingratitude, Holderness being a mere cypher in office, and having been more than once upheld against powerful representations by His Majesty's personal favour and goodness. The King, however, behaved with great dignity and temper on this trying occasion. He did not condescend to use reproaches, but stopped short Lord Holderness's explanations with these words: "You come here "to resign; I have no curiosity to know your rea-"sons." And when Lord Waldegrave immediately afterwards entered the closet, the King said, coolly: "Holderness has resigned. You may think I was "surprised, but the loss is not considerable."*

No sooner was this step taken than the Duke of Newcastle,—whose mind, small indeed for every other object, was large enough to contain the most various and opposite kinds of fear,—became haunted with the apprehension of incurring the Royal displeasure. He wrote the next morning to Lord Waldegrave, requesting to see him before he went to Court. Lord Waldegrave called accordingly, when His Grace began by expressing great uneasiness lest the King should suspect him of having caused Holderness's resignation. He called God

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 121.

to witness, that, far from having given to it any sort of encouragement, it was quite unknown to him till he received a letter from Lord Holderness announcing his resolution a very few hours before it was executed,—and he begged Lord Waldegrave to state the case fairly to the King. 1757.

They then passed on to other conversation, in the course of which Lord Waldegrave said that certainly the King did suspect the Duke of thwarting his business in several instances; and that, to give an example,—Lord Halifax had declined a high appointment on the sole ground that he did not think himself at liberty to take any without the Duke of Newcastle's consent. "His Grace," —as Lord Waldegrave relates it,—"did not "think it necessary to make answer to particular "facts, but said in general that it was hard he "should be condemned because some gentle- "men endeavoured to clear themselves by load- "ing him..... That he had given me notice "some days ago of a man near the King's person, "a favourite, one in whom His Majesty had the "greatest confidence, who would soon resign his "employment; that I might easily guess he meant "Holderness, though he had not named him; and "that with a single word he could cause so many "resignations as would give the Court a very "empty appearance.—I did not think it necessary "to add to his confusion by comparing his last "words with the solemn declaration which I was "to make in His Grace's name concerning Holder-

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

"ness's resignation, but contented myself with "telling him that if it was in his power to deprive "the King of his servants, and if he really intended "it, the sooner it was done the better, that His "Majesty might know with certainty what he had "to expect, and whom he had to depend on."

The prospect of so many resignations, as it grew nearer and more certain, daunted in some degree the Monarch's resolution. The heart of Fox also failed him, notwithstanding the jovial exhortations of Lord Granville, and the angry reproaches of the Duke of Bedford. "It is useless," said Bedford, "to give ourselves any further trouble, for "we cannot possibly go on without a principal "actor in the House of Commons, and Fox has "not spirit to undertake it." On his part the King bitterly inveighed against the chief Whig nobility, who, he said, chose rather to be the footmen of the Duke of Newcastle than the friends and counsellors of their Sovereign.* But His Majesty had no longer any alternative but to yield. He sent for Lord Mansfield to Kensington, and gave him full powers to negotiate with Pitt and Newcastle. Lord Hardwicke, though declining to resume the Great Seal, was zealous and useful in promoting the desired arrangement. Thus, after several days of further haggling, the new Ministry was at length completed, and kissed hands on the

* Compare Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 133. with Lord Orford's (vol. ii. p. 223.) The King reverted more than once to the phrase "footmen of the Duke of Newcastle."

29th of June. It was nearly in the form that Pitt had from the first prescribed. Newcastle returned to the Treasury, with not one of his own party at the Board, and with Legge for his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt became again Secretary of State,—and, as if the better to secure his own ascendency, with the cypher, Holderness, for his colleague. Partly from the same motive, perhaps, he replaced Lord Anson at the Admiralty. Pratt, a most rising lawyer, and a personal friend of Pitt, was made Attorney General, and Temple, Lord Privy Seal. CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

But the most surprising appointment was that of Fox, who sunk down to Pitt's former post of Paymaster, without a seat in the Cabinet. An office then so rich,—richer probably than any other during war,—might be a strong temptation to a narrow or embarrassed fortune; and something may also be allowed for the different state of public feeling in that age. Yet undoubtedly at the present day it would be deemed the very extremity of political degradation, that a statesman who had led the House of Commons as Minister of the Crown, and who had been intrusted by his Sovereign with the formation of a Ministry, should consent to forego even a seat in the Cabinet, and accept a subordinate place, at the bidding and under the control of his triumphant rival.

Thus, then, after such long gestation, and so many throes and struggles, came to light the first administration of Chatham,—the greatest and most

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

glorious, perhaps, that England had ever yet known, — an administration not always, indeed, free from haste or error in its schemes, and no doubt owing their success in part to the favour of Fortune and to the genius of Generals,—but still, after every allowance that can be justly required, an administration pre-eminently strong at home and victorious abroad,—an administration which even now is pointed at with equal applause by contending and opposite parties, eager to claim its principles as their own.—How strange that at its outset nothing but ruin and disaster were foreseen or foretold! No one trusted to the national spirit, or dreamed what it might effect if vigorously roused and skilfully directed. Of all political observers then in England there were certainly none shrewder than Horace Walpole and Lord Chesterfield, and the language of both at this period is fraught with the deepest despondency. According to the former: "It is time for England to slip her cables and "float away into some unknown ocean!"*—"Who-"ever is in, or whoever is out," writes Chesterfield, "I am sure we are undone both at home and "abroad; at home by our increasing debt and "expenses; abroad by our ill-luck and inca-"pacity. . . . We are no longer a nation. I never "yet saw so dreadful a prospect."†

It was now the beginning of July, and the season

* To Sir Horace Mann, September 3. 1757.

† To Mr. Dayrolles, July 4. 1757.

too far advanced for Pitt to exert much influence on that year's campaign. He applied himself, however, with characteristic energy, to the fitting out of a secret expedition. Early in September there sailed from Spithead sixteen ships of the line, with frigates and transports, having on board ten regiments of foot; the Admiral, Sir Edward Hawke, the General, Sir John Mordaunt. It was not till the fleet had reached the open sea that officers and men were informed of the design on which they were embarked,—a descent on the coast of France, and the capture of Rochefort, one of its chief naval magazines. Some years before, during the peace, an English officer, named Clarke, had, as it chanced, visited Rochefort, and surveyed its defences, which he found to be feeble, neglected, and ruinous; and having now reported his observations to Pitt, the Minister was fired with the thought of a powerful diversion to the armies of the Duke of Cumberland and the King of Prussia, then both hard pressed by the enemy. The conjuncture, moreover, was favourable to such an enterprise, since above 100,000 French troops had marched to Germany, and scarcely 10,000 had remained to protect their own coast from St. Valery to Bordeaux. On the other hand, the information respecting Rochefort, though confirmed by Thierry, a French pilot of the Protestant faith, and the best that could then be obtained, was neither so circumstantial nor so recent as might have been desired. Such being the scheme, the fleet, in the first place, arrived at

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

Aix, a small fortified island off the mouth of the river Charente; and the troops on landing gained the works after some slight resistance. Strict orders had been issued by Mordaunt and Hawke against any irregularity; yet both the sailors and soldiers who landed found means to become furiously drunk, and (as their own countrymen admit) treated the miserable islanders with great inhumanity.* It can scarcely be doubted that the news of such excesses must have roused the French on the main-land to a still more determined spirit of resistance. The next point was to attack Rochefort itself. The pilot, Thierry, undertook to land the troops within five miles of the city, and the Admiral, in aid of the descent, proposed to batter down the small fort of Fouras with one of his sixty-gun ships. But a fatal dissension, too common in such cases, had already sprung up between the land and sea officers,—between Mordaunt and Hawke. The former, especially, pressed the latter for an assurance of his being able at any moment required to re-embark the troops, while Hawke explained that this, like all other naval operations, must depend in some degree on wind and weather. Under these circumstances, Sir John Mordaunt,—a general of former reputation, but who had recently fallen into a nervous disorder,—could not make up his mind to advance. One of his officers, Colonel Wolfe, chafed at his wavering, offered to make himself master of Roche-

* Hervey's Naval History, vol. v. p. 54. ed. 1779.

fort if only 500 men and three ships of war were placed at his disposal. This spirited offer was rejected at the time, but it did not escape either the observation or the memory of the great Minister at home. Several ensuing days were wasted in various councils, resolutions, and counter-resolutions, all equally abortive, and leaving to the French full leisure to prepare for their defence. At length, the favourable opportunity having passed by, and another council being summoned, it was agreed that there was nothing left for them to do but to demolish the fortifications of Aix, and to steer back to England. Such was the abortive issue of an expedition which had raised such lofty hopes, and cost, as is alleged, nearly one million of money!

Sir John Mordaunt had supposed, a little too hastily, that if the expedition failed the blame would recoil on the Minister who planned it. He found, on the contrary, when he returned, a loud and general outcry against his own misconduct. A Board of Inquiry was forthwith appointed by the King, composed of three field-officers,—the Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave. Many witnesses were examined before them, and Mordaunt was heard in his own defence. Their report, when it appeared, was vague and undecisive, but seemed to imply some degree of censure. A Court Martial was then ordered, and by this last tribunal Sir John was unanimously and honourably acquitted. The public opinion against him remained, however, unaltered. The truth is, as

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

I conceive, that it is easy to draw up in array a long list of insuperable difficulties against almost any great enterprise that can be proposed in war. How strong a case might not Nelson have made against attacking the French fleet at Aboukir or the Danish batteries at Copenhagen! But there will always be some spirits (like Lord Peterborough, and unlike his kinsman Mordaunt), that prefer the chance of a victory to the certainty of an acquittal!

Another scheme of Pitt to effect a diversion against the common enemy was to yield Gibraltar to Spain, on condition of Spain assisting England in the recovery of Minorca, and taking part in the war against France. We learn, from a Minute of the Cabinet Council at this time, that the cession of Gibraltar on such terms had been unanimously approved by Pitt's colleagues. It may remind the reader of a similar overture made by Stanhope in 1718, and like that overture appears open to most serious objection. The English Minister conveyed his proposal in a secret despatch, dated 23d August 1757, to Sir Benjamin Keene, who was still the English Envoy at Madrid. According to the information of one of his Under-Secretaries, Pitt had bestowed especial care on the style of this despatch, and employed three days in its composition. But happily for us, perhaps, as it proved, the opportunity for such a negotiation at Madrid was no longer favourable. When Sir Benjamin Keene first opened the important packet, and perused its con-

tents, he flung his cap on the ground, and could not forbear exclaiming, "Are they mad on the "other side of the water? What can they mean! "It is now too late! But I must fulfil my orders, "whatever may be the consequence."* He did accordingly fulfil his orders with his accustomed zeal, but found, as he expected, the Court of Madrid resolved to maintain its neutrality, and turning a deaf ear to his suggestion.†

In North America the Earl of Loudoun, lately sent out as Commander in Chief, proved no match for the able and vigilant Marquis de Montcalm, the French General in Canada. An expedition against Louisburg had been planned; and by means of reinforcements from England Lord Loudoun had mustered 12,000 men for that object; but on receiving some exaggerated reports of the enemy's force he became dispirited, and gave orders to retreat. Indecision was the ruling fault of his, as of most weak characters. "He is like St. George "upon the signposts," said a Philadelphian to Dr. Franklin, "always on horseback, but never

* These exclamations rest on the unimpeachable authority of Sir Benjamin's chaplain, who was present. See Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iv. p. 197.

† Sir Benjamin Keene to Mr. Pitt, September 26. 1757 (printed in the Chatham Papers). This was the last important business in which Sir Benjamin was engaged; that old and meritorious public servant died at Madrid in the December following. He was brother of Bishop Keene of Ely, who is far less favourably mentioned.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

"advances!"* In like manner the English troops gave no disturbance to Montcalm in his siege of Fort William Henry, which had been built on the southern coast of Lake George with a view to cover the frontier of New York,—and the fort was accordingly taken and demolished. In the same temper Admiral Holbourne, who commanded the squadron off Louisburg, declined to attack the French, because while he had seventeen ships of the line they had eighteen, and a greater WEIGHT OF METAL,—"according to the new sea-phrase," says Chesterfield, indignantly, "which was unknown "to Blake!"† It is the peculiar glory of Pitt's administration to have delivered us from these new phrases and new feelings, and awakened—never again to slumber,—the ancient spirit of England.

But the theatre of the greatest warlike scenes was Germany. Frederick, undismayed at the numbers gathering against him, was the first in the field. He knew that forward movements are often the best foundation for a successful system of defence. He resolved to strike a blow against the Austrian army, while the French, the Russian, and the Swedish were still in winter quarters. Early in April his troops, in different divisions, came climbing

* Franklin's Memoirs, part ii.—Grahame's History of the United States, vol. iv. p. 4.

† Letter to his son, September 30. 1757. He adds, "I hear "that letters have been sent to both (Holbourne and Loudoun), "with very severe reprimands."

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

through the mountain passes that guard the frontier of Bohemia. They reunited near the walls of Prague, and there, on the 6th of May, gave battle to the Austrians under Marshal Brown and Prince Charles of Lorraine. The numbers engaged were nearly 70,000 on the Prussian, and nearly 80,000 on the Austrian, side. Seldom in modern times has there been a conflict so long and so bloody. The fighting continued from nine in the morning till eight at night, and, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the loss of the Royal army was 18,000, of the Imperial 24,000 men.* The chiefs on both sides vied with each other in courage and self-exposure; Marshal Brown fell mortally wounded; the King of Prussia, his brother, Prince Henry, and his general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, appeared in the thickest of the fight. Still more conspicuous was the conduct of Marshal Schwerin, a veteran, seventy-two years of age, the first instructor of Frederick in the art of war. Seeing the Prussian infantry waver, he sprung from his horse, snatched a standard from an Ensign, and led back his troops to the charge with the words, "Forward! forward, my children!" Forward they rushed accordingly at the well-known voice and the bright example, but in the midst of their onset four musket balls pierced the heroic breast of Schwerin. Still he held up the colours in his dying grasp, still they waved over his lifeless

* Archenholtz, Geschichte des Sieben-jährigen Krieges, vol. i. p. 53.

CHAP. XXXIV.

features*, and his standard became as it were the shroud of this gallant soldier.

1757. The victory, though dear-bought, was decided in favour of Frederick. It would have been complete, but for the want of a few more pontoons to enable another body of Prussians which had remained beyond the river Moldau, and had borne no part in the battle, to pass over, and take the enemy in the rear. Had there been these few more pontoons, the Prussian writers confidently state that not a single man of the Imperialists could have escaped, —that the whole aspect of the war would have changed,—that within a few weeks their King might have dictated terms of peace to the Empress Queen under the walls of Vienna. As it was, the remains of the defeated army had time to scatter along the open country, or to seek refuge within the ramparts of Prague, where Frederick hastened to besiege them. Heavy cannon were brought from Dresden, and the city was bombarded. But another Austrian army under Marshal Daun was now advancing from the side of Moravia, and had been reinforced by 16,000 fugitives from the recent conflict. Frederick, mindful of his own exploit of the preceding year at the siege of Pirna and the battle of Lowositz, determined to try once more the same hazardous venture. He left a part of his army to continue the circumvallation, and with the remainder marched against Daun. He found the Austrian

* "Das Panier seines Monarchen deckte ihn, und verhüllte "seine todes-züge." (Archenholtz, vol. i. p. 50.)

CHAP. XXXIV.

1757.

Marshal at the head of a superior army, and, moreover, intrenched along the steep heights of Kolin. Nothing daunted, Frederick led up his troops to an assault on the morning of the 18th of June. Again and again were they driven back with dreadful slaughter; again and again were they urged forward to the charge; but at sunset their repulse became irretrievable; 13,000 of their bravest comrades had fallen, and the survivors, yielding the victory, withdrew from the fatal field. Their officers were deeply dejected. "This is our Pul-" tawa!" muttered several as they went along.

The mind of the King himself was scarcely less overwhelmed at his disaster. It is still recorded of him, how next day at the rallying place, a village on the road to Prague, he was seen to sit for many hours on one of the hollowed trees which throughout Germany and Switzerland serve to collect and convey the mountain rills; his head had sunk upon his breast, he uttered no word, he made no sign to his attendants, but with his cane was mechanically drawing figures in the sand. From his gloomy reveries he was roused by the necessity of action. He found himself compelled to raise the siege of Prague, and to retire beyond the frontiers of Bohemia. Never did he appear more vigilant in his own duties, or more severe against the officers who failed in their's. His brother, Prince William, the heir presumptive to the Crown, and the great grandfather of the present King, having committed some errors, and incurred some losses, in the retreat, was so harshly

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

upbraided by His Majesty that he threw up his command, and retired almost heart-broken to his country seat, where he died a few months afterwards. Yet still amidst all these cares and sorrows, these taunts and these partings, Frederick could find delight in composing stanza after stanza of mawkish French verses; and his private correspondence preserves a tone, not only of composure, but of cheerfulness. Thus he writes to his friend, the Earl Marischal, after the battle of Kolin:—"Fortune, my dear Lord, has this day turned her back upon me. I ought to have expected it; Fortune is female, and I am not a man of gallantry. Fortune now declares in favour of the ladies who are carrying on war against me. What do you say, to this combination against a Margrave of Brandenburg? How would the Great Elector, Frederick William, be astonished, could he now from his grave see his grandson assailed by the Russians, the Austrians, nearly all Germany, and a hundred thousand French! I know not whether it will be a disgrace to me to fail before such odds, but this I do know, that there will be no glory in overcoming me."

His enemies, indeed, were now closing upon him from every side. The provinces beyond the Vistula became the prey of Russian hordes, to which only one division of Prussians under Marshal Lehwald was opposed. In the result, however, their own devastations, and the consequent want of supplies, proved a check to their further progress

during this campaign. In Westphalia above 80,000 effective French soldiers were advancing, commanded by the Mareschal d'Estrées, a grandson of the famous Minister, Louvois. The Duke of Cumberland, who had undertaken to defend his father's Electorate against them, was at the head of a motley army of scarce 50,000 men; there were no English beyond the officers of his personal staff, but, beside the native Hanoverians, he had several regiments of Prussians; he had also Hessians, Brunswickers, and many other mercenaries hired from the smaller Princes of Northern Germany. His military talents were not such as to supply his want of numbers or of combination; he allowed the French to pass the deep and rapid Weser unopposed; he gave them no disturbance when laying waste great part of the Electorate; he only fell back from position to position until at length the enemy came up with him at the village of Hastenbeck near Hameln. There, on the 26th of July, an action was fought, and the Duke was worsted with the loss of several hundred men. The only resource of His Royal Highness was a retreat across the wide Lüneburg moors, to cover the town of Stade towards the mouth of the Elbe, where the archives and other valuable effects from Hanover had been already deposited for safety.

CHAP. XXXII. 1757.

Hameln, Göttingen, Hanover itself, and soon afterwards both Bremen and Verden, were occupied without resistance by the French. These fruits of their victory were not, however, reaped by their

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

commander in the conflict. At this very period a Court intrigue recalled D'Estrées from Germany*, and shared his command between two favourites of Madame de Pompadour,—the Duke de Richelieu and the Prince de Soubise,—Richelieu to act against Cumberland, and Soubise against Frederick. Richelieu showed himself equally alert in the plunder of the conquered province and the pursuit of the defeated general. He forced the Duke of Cumberland to retire beneath the cannon of Stade, where His Royal Highness hoped that he might maintain himself until the approach of winter put a close to this campaign. But the French having hemmed him in on all sides, though still at some distance, might next, perhaps, have invested a little fort at the mouth of the stream of Zwinga, thus cutting off the Duke's communication with the Elbe, and rendering useless to him four English men of war which had anchored in that river. Under this apprehension His Royal Highness accepted the mediation of Count Lynar, the Minister of the King of Denmark, and on the 8th of September signed at Closter-Seven a Convention with the Duke de Richelieu. The terms were that the auxiliary troops, as of Hesse and Brunswick, should be sent home, and that the Hanoverians under Cumberland should pass the Elbe,

* "Le lendemain de la bataille d'Hastenbeck le Maréchal "(d'Estrées) reçut le courrier qui lui annonçait son rappel." (Memoires du Baron de Besenval, vol. i. p. 91.)

and be dispersed into different quarters of cantonments, leaving only a garrison at Stade.

At a more recent period one of the greatest authorities in war has held that these terms were by no means so favourable to the French as they were entitled to claim*; but at the time itself the Convention of Closter-Seven was denounced both by English and Prussians as an ignominious capitulation. In fact it would be difficult to decide whether this Convention excited most indignation at the English Court or at the Prussian camp. Frederick, seeing the whole French force now left at liberty to pour on his dominions, exclaimed that we had undone him without mending our own situation. George the Second lost no time in recalling the Duke to England, and on his arrival treated him with the utmost coldness. When the Duke first appeared in the Royal presence, the King never addressed a word to him, but said aloud in the course of the evening: "Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced "himself!"† The Duke was ill-disposed to brook such treatment; he had already, from the letters he received and the rumours he heard, formed his resolution, and this resolution he next morning formally announced. He resigned his post of Captain

* "La Convention de Closter-Seven est inexplicable. Le "Duc de Cumberland était perdu; il était obligé de mettre bas "les armes, et de se rendre prisonnier; il n'était donc possible "d'admettre d'autres termes de capitulation que ceux-là." (Napoleon, Mémoires publiés par Montholon, vol. v. p. 213.)

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 250.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

General, his regiment, in short all his military employments. The King was startled, and attempted to alter his determination, but in vain. Thus did the harsh victor of Culloden surrender the darling passion and object of his life,—the army,—sooner than submit to what he deemed an unfounded aspersion on his conduct. He lived till 1765 in comparative obscurity, and died, perhaps worn out by inaction, in his forty-sixth year. It is due to this Prince to say, that, aggrieved as he thought himself by the King, he never let fall amidst all his irritation a single word inconsistent with his strictest duty as a subject or a son. It is also remarkable that of all the Ministers in England the only one disposed to afford him any countenance or protection was Pitt,—the very man whom the Duke had always in the most marked manner thwarted and opposed! Nay, Pitt had even risked the displeasure of his Master rather than fail in justice to his enemy. When the King had told Pitt that he had given the Duke no orders for such a treaty, Pitt had answered with firmness: "But full powers, Sir,—very full powers!"

The Princess Dowager behaved on this occasion in her usual spirit of prudence and caution. When the Duke called upon her, and was beginning to mention his resolution to resign, she rang the bell, and asked him if he would not see the children!

After the battle of Kolin and the Convention of Closter-Seven the position of Frederick,—

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

hemmed in on almost every side by victorious enemies,—was not only most dangerous but well-nigh desperate. To his own eyes it seemed so. He revolved in his thoughts, and discussed with his friends, the voluntary death of Otho as a worthy example to follow.* Fully resolved never to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, nor yet to survive any decisive overthrow, he carried about his person a sure poison in a small glass phial. Yet amidst all his growing difficulties, and with the prospect of death close before him, this extraordinary man never relaxed either in his poetical recreations or his warlike designs. He could still find amusement in composing an ode, feeble and profane, against the Duke of Cumberland.† He could still with indomitable skill and energy make every preparation for encountering the Prince de Soubise. He marched against the French commander at the head of only 22,000 men; but these were veterans, trained in the strictest discipline, and full of confidence in their chief. Soubise, on the other hand, owed his appointment in part to his illustrious

* See two letters from Voltaire to Frederick in October 1757. (Correspondance avec le Roi de Prusse, vol. i. p. 322—327.)

† This ode seems intended as a parody "de Jérémie et du "divin Baruc." Here are four of the least hobbling lines:

"Et toi, Stade, l'arche où notre Salomon
"Plaça son tabernacle et son sacré Mammon,
"Helas! mes tristes yeux verront ils tes guinées
"Par des brigands Français à Paris amenées."

(Œuvres Posthumes, vol. xv. p. 212. ed. 1789.)

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

lineage, as head of the House of Rohan, and still more to Court-favour, as the minion of Madame de Pompadour, but in no degree to his own experience or abilities. He had under his orders nearly 40,000 of his countrymen, and nearly 20,000 troops of the Empire; for the Germanic Diet also had been induced to join the league against Frederick. On the 5th of November the two armies came to a battle at Rosbach, close to the plain of Lützen, where in the preceding century Gustavus Adolphus conquered and fell. By the skilful manœuvres of Frederick the French were brought to believe that the Prussians intended nothing but retreat, and they advanced in high spirits as if only to pursue the fugitives. Of a sudden they found themselves attacked with all the compactness of discipline, and all the courage of despair. The troops of the Empire, a motley crew, fled at the first fire; some of the French regiments showed scarcely greater steadiness; Soubise was bewildered and helpless; and the rout became universal. So rapid was the victory that the right wing of the Prussians, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was never engaged at all. Great numbers of the French were cut down in their flight by the Prussian cavalry, not a few perished in the waters of the Saale, and full 7,000 were made prisoners, with a large amount of baggage, artillery, and standards.

It has been said with great truth and point of our James the First that he seemed made up of two men,—an able well-read scholar, who wrote,—and

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

a drivelling idiot, who acted.* The exact converse of this character might be aptly applied to Frederick. On the very day after the battle of Rosbach the illustrious victor sat down in his tent to write in French rhymes a farewell to the French army. So coarse and ribald is this effusion that it could only appear in print by the aid of numerous blanks and asterisks, and the feebleness of the lines is fully equal to their ribaldry.† Alas, for human intellect to find even its glory thus blended with its shame!

The battle of Rosbach was not more remarkable for its military results than for its moral influence. It was hailed throughout Germany as a triumph of the Teutonic over the Gallic race. It was a victory of their own gained by a leader of their own, not by a chief of foreign blood and lineage, — a Montecuculi or a Prince Eugene. Throughout the whole of that great and noble-minded people,—

* Edinburgh Review, No. 132. p. 31.

† See the Œuvres Posthumes, vol. xv. p. 217. Ten of the lines (which are at least inoffensive) will be a sufficient trial of the reader's patience:

" Je vous l'avoue en confidence
" Qu'après ma longue decadence
" Ce beau laurier de ce taillis
" Qu'à votre aspect je recueillis,
" Je le dois à votre derrière,
" A votre manœuvre en arrière.
" Ah tant que le sort clandestin
" Vous placera dans ma carrière
" Tournez moi toujours la visière
" Pour le bonheur du genre humain."

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

from the Oder to the Rhine,—from the mouth of the Elbe to the sources of the Drave,—even in the Austrian states themselves,—the day of Rosbach was ere long considered as a common theme of national pride and national rejoicing. At this day the fame of Frederick has become nearly as dear to all true Germans as the fame of Arminius. It was a spell which even Jena could not break, and which shone forth with redoubled power after Leipsick. Nay, even on the field of Rosbach itself this feeling was already in some degree apparent. It is recorded how one of Frederick's soldiers, as he stooped to make prisoner one of Soubise's, suddenly saw, on turning round, the sabre of an Austrian cuirassier waving in the air, and ready to descend on his own head. "Brother "German," cried the Brandenburgher, "let me "have the Frenchman!"—"Take him," answered the Austrian, and slowly rode away.*

So precarious was now Frederick's position that the battle of Rosbach, as he said himself, gained him nothing but leisure to fight another battle elsewhere.† During his absence on the Saale the Austrian armies had poured over the mountains into Silesia; they had defeated the Prussians under the Duke of Bevern; they had taken the main fortress,

* Archenholtz, vol. i. p. 122. There were two Austrian cavalry regiments at Rosbach among the troops of the Empire. (p. 116.)

† "Je n'y gagne que de pouvoir m'opposer avec sureté à "d'autres ennemis." (Lettre au Marquis d'Argens, Nov. 1757. Œuvres Posthumes, vol. x. p. 42.)

Schweidnitz, and the capital, Breslau; nearly the whole province was already their's. A flying detachment of 4,000 cavalry, under General Haddick, had even pushed into Brandenburg, and levied a contribution from the city of Berlin. The advancing season seemed to require winter quarters, but Frederick never dreamed of rest until Silesia was recovered. He hastened by forced marches from the Saale to the Oder, gathering reinforcements while he went along. As he drew near Breslau, the Imperial commander, Prince Charles of Lorraine, flushed with recent victory, and confident in superior numbers, disregarded the prudent advice of Marshal Daun, and descended from an almost inaccessible position to give the King of Prussia battle on the open plain. Frederick, who had previously exclaimed that he would attack the enemy even though he found them entrenched on the church-steeples of Breslau *, was overjoyed at the prospect of engaging them on level ground. He assembled his officers, and addressed them with much earnestness and eloquence, showing the importance, nay, the necessity to them all, of victory, and bidding them repeat his expressions to their men. On the 5th of December, one month from the battle of Rosbach, the two armies met at Leuthen, a small village near Breslau, Frederick with 40,000, Prince Charles of Lorraine with between 60,000 and 70,000 men.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

* Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 104.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1757.

For several hours did the conflict rage doubtfully and fiercely. It was decided mainly by the skill and the spirit of the Prussian Monarch. "The "battle of Leuthen," says Napoleon, "was a "master-piece. Did it even stand alone it would "of itself entitle Frederick to immortal fame."* In killed, wounded, and taken the Austrians lost no less than 27,000 men; above 50 standards, above 100 cannon, above 4,000 waggons, became the spoil of the victors; Breslau was taken, Schweidnitz blockaded, Silesia recovered; the remnant of the Imperial forces fled back across the mountains; and Frederick, after one of the longest and most glorious campaigns that History records, at length allowed himself and his soldiers some repose.

In no country—scarce even in Prussia—was the fame of Frederick more extolled, more widely spread, more truly popular, than in England. His birthday was kept with as much rejoicing as King George's.† The streets of London were illuminated in honour of his victories, and the "King of "Prussia" became a favourite sign at country inns. Religious zeal combined in his behalf with military ardour; the faith of his fathers was sup-

* "La bataille de Leuthen est un chef-d'œuvre de mouve- "mens, de manœuvres et de resolution; seule elle suffirait "pour immortaliser Frederic, et lui donner rang parmi les plus "grands généraux." (Memoires publiés par Montholon, vol. v. p. 215.) This battle was at first called Lissa from the name of the neighbouring woods.

† Entick's History of the War, vol. iii. p. 20.

posed to be his own; the scepticism of the scoffer was little known, unless to travellers and statesmen, and he was enthusiastically hailed as the true "Protestant Hero." The policy of the new administration in support of Prussia met, therefore, with general applause. Early in 1758 Pitt concluded a new Convention by which England agreed to pay to Prussia a Subsidy of 670,000*l.*; and the money was voted with scarce a dissentient voice in the House of Commons. In fact, from the combination of parties, and the ascendency of the Great Commoner, opposition, even in his absence, appeared well nigh defunct or disarmed. On the 21st of March Walpole writes to Mann: "Mr. Pitt, "who has been laid with up the gout, has been in "the House but twice this winter;" yet not long afterwards he adds: "Our unanimity is prodigious. "You would as soon hear 'No' from an old maid "as from the House of Commons!"* CHAP. XXXIV. 1757. 1758.

The Subsidy to Frederick was by no means the only measure taken in England to support the war in Germany. The King refused to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven; indeed, as to several particulars respecting the Hessian troops and the observance of the truce, the French had already infringed it. The army at Stade was accordingly prepared for a fresh campaign, and a sum for its maintenance voted by the English Parliament.†

* To Sir Horace Mann, December 25. 1758.

† "Last week, in the House of Commons, above ten millions "were granted, and the whole Hanover army taken into British

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

On the recommendation of the King of Prussia, its command was intrusted to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother of the Duke of that name. Prince Ferdinand, now thirty-seven years of age, had already attained high distinction in the Prussian service, and still held high rank in it as General, and Governor of Magdeburg. His military talents were worthy a pupil of Frederick; in the field he was ever calm, collected, skilful, and intrepid. Humanity to the vanquished, and consideration for his own officers and soldiers, were not the least conspicuous of his many good qualities. Amongst the scoffers at Frederick's Court he had been always steady and sincere, though unaffected, in his adherence to Revealed Religion. In private life his tastes and habits were such as a great general but seldom forms. A shrewd observer, who passed through Brunswick a few years after the peace, and who was presented to the Prince, thus describes him: "He is of a ceremonious politeness, splendid "in his manner of living, attentive even to the "minutest points of his toilet, and fond of variety "and magnificence in dress."*

The command of the Hanoverian army was assumed by Prince Ferdinand only a few days after the battle of Rosbach, and his arrival from that

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"pay, with but one single negative, which was Mr. Vyner's." (Lord Chesterfield to his son, April 25. 1758.)

* Dr. Moore, View of Society in France, Germany, &c. Letter 56.

field of victory inspiring the troops with new confidence, he gained almost immediately several small advantages over the French; but, severe weather setting in, both generals soon established themselves in winter quarters; Prince Ferdinand at Lüneburg, and the Duke de Richelieu at Hanover.

At home the harmony of the Session was scarcely broken by a slight disagreement between the two Houses on a proposed extension of the Habeas Corpus. The original Act in the reign of Charles the Second referred only to persons arrested on criminal charges. Now an instance had recently occurred of a gentleman being, by some mistake, pressed for a footsoldier, and confined in the Savoy, when his friends, on applying for a Habeas Corpus, found that the case did not come within the provisions of the Bill. No hardship ensued in this instance, because the gentleman thus imprisoned was released upon an application to the Secretary at War; but it tended to direct public attention towards the deficiencies of the law. Cases were imagined,—without any violent stretch of probability,—of a wife wrongfully immured by her husband, of a daughter by her father, of an alleged lunatic by his physician, for whom no redress could be obtained. Pratt, the new Attorney General, applied himself with zeal to this grievance, and introduced a Bill extending the Habeas Corpus to other cases of confinement besides those resulting from the allegation of crime. It was a noble sight thus to behold the first advo-

CHAP. XXXIV.

1758.

cate of the Crown appearing the firmest champion against Prerogative.* The Bill passed the Commons,—opposed, indeed, by Fox, and a very few others,—but supported by the two highest authorities then to be found in that assembly,—Secretary Pitt and Speaker Onslow. Far different was its reception in the House of Peers. Lords Temple, Talbot, and Stanhope spoke well in its behalf; they were speedily overwhelmed, however, by the superior ability and weight of Hardwicke and Mansfield. Of the latter, we are told by Horace Walpole, although a warm friend to the proposed extension, "I am not averse to own that I never heard so "much argument, so much sense, so much oratory "united. . . . . Perhaps it was the only speech "that in my time at least had real effect; that is, "convinced many persons."—Hardwicke unfolded numerous doubts and objections of detail;—how hard to bring up a wife, a daughter, or a lunatic, from, perhaps, the remotest corner of the kingdom, and at one's own expense, without the least satisfaction from the persons who make such application, and while there may not be the slightest real grievance in the case! He acknowledged that he had, indeed, long been sensible of one defect in the law of Habeas Corpus, and wished it to be supplied, but he found not the least provision for it in the present Bill,—and that was, a power to a single Judge, during the vacation, to enforce a speedy

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 287. See also his letter to Conway, June 4. 1758.

return to an Habeas Corpus writ.* On the whole, he prevailed upon their Lordships to take the opinions of the Judges; but these opinions, separately delivered, proved to be discordant and inconclusive. Still following Hardwicke's guidance, the Peers then threw out the Bill, but directed the Judges to prepare for the next Session another Bill, extending the power of granting and enforcing the writ during the vacation. Such an order served at the moment to allay the popular excitement; and that once appeased, no further progress was made with the promised measure.

It may be observed, I think, without injustice, that the course pursued by the Peers in regard to the Habeas Corpus Act has not been honourable to their judgment or consistent with other parts of their conduct. Even in the original measure under Charles the Second the Bill had passed their House only by trick or chance. Bishop Burnet tells us, how, upon that division, Lord Grey, the teller in behalf of the Bill, availed himself of the eccentricity of his colleague, Lord Norreys, an odd, absent man, to reckon a corpulent Peer who walked in as ten votes instead of one,—how the miscalculation passed current,—and how it decided the success of the measure.† In 1758 we find no friendly spirit to its extension and support. It was not till 1816

* From Lord Hardwicke's original notes; Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 897.

† History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 256. ed. Oxf. 1833, with a note of Speaker Onslow in corroboration of the story.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

that nearly the same amendment as Pratt had proposed, coupled with Lord Hardwicke's suggestion, was again introduced by Serjeant Onslow, when it passed without much opposition or notice, or any renewed reference to the Judges.*

The internal tranquillity of England,—where all parties, Whig or Tory, were rapidly blending into an emulous support of Pitt,—was set off as with a foil by the rising troubles of Ireland. The Duke of Bedford, the new Lord Lieutenant, himself of violent passions, was ill-fitted for quelling or directing the passions of others. But with all his faults of temper he was an honest and honourable man, and had entered on his Vice-Royalty with upright intentions. He had professed and resolved to observe a complete neutrality between the contending parties. He had begun with exacting strict attendance at their posts from all persons in civil employment, and refusing leaves of absence to officers and chaplains of regiments; nor did he omit,—finding the revenue burdened with so many useless charges,—some angry diatribes against Irish pensions. Unfortunately he was too much under the influence of his Secretary and favourite, Rigby, a gay, jovial, not over-scrupulous placeman. With such a counsellor the rigid virtue of the new Lord Lieutenant speedily relaxed. The Queen Dowager of Prussia had lately died, and by her demise there

* Hansard's Debates, February 14. 1816, &c. See also Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 138. ed. 1825.

reverted to the Crown a pension of 800*l.* a year, which had been secretly granted to her on the Irish Establishment at the period of her ill-treatment by her harsh and penurious husband. This pension Bedford was persuaded to ask for Lady Betty Waldegrave, sister to his Duchess. He obtained it,—but immediately roused against his government whatever of patriotism or of public spirit was then to be found in Ireland. In like manner his views of public policy, so lofty at the outset, speedily dwindled into donatives and quiet. This appears from his own private Diary of May 24. 1758. "As things "are circumstanced, business may be easily carried "on the next Session, but the leading people must "have DOUCEURS. . . . . By these means His Ma- "jesty may do what he pleases with this country."* Nor was His Grace more steady in his purpose of strict impartiality between the factions. There were at that time three in the Irish Parliament; first, that of the Primate Stone; secondly, that of the Speaker Ponsonby; thirdly, that of Lord Kildare, the head of the great family of Fitzgerald. Towards this last party the Lord Lieutenant ere long began strongly to incline, on account of his friendship with Fox, whose sister-in-law was the wife of Kildare.

It must be acknowledged as strange, and but little to the credit of Irish politics at this time, to find an Archbishop and a Speaker the chiefs of the

* Bedford Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 335.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

rival Parliamentary cabals. The former evil had been fomented avowedly, and as a matter of design, by the late Primate Boulter. "The Bishops "here," says he, in one of his letters, "are the per- "sons on whom the Government must depend for "doing the public business."* It was another of Boulter's maxims to place the Irish mitres on none but English heads†,—to strengthen, as it was called, the English interest,—a most false and suicidal policy.

Two other peculiarities of the Irish Government at this period, though far less important, may yet deserve a passing notice. It was usual for every Lord Lieutenant to absent himself from his post during the second year of his Vice-Royalty, so as to pocket its salary without incurring its expenses.‡ —The choice of the Secretary depended solely on the Lord Lieutenant, instead of being, as now, a subject of care and thought to the Prime Minister; a change which indicates a far different degree and direction of responsibility in the inferior officer.§

* To the Duke of Newcastle, April 30. 1728.—Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 238.

† Thus, for instance, on the dangerous illness of the Archbishop of Dublin, Boulter writes, "I hope that no native will "be thought of for that place." (To the Bishop of London, December 21. 1728.) See also Hallam's Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 542.

‡ This is stated incidentally, and as a matter of course, in Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 279.

§ We may trace the *transition state* (as a geologist would term it) between the two systems in a letter from Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland, October 28. 1785. (Correspondence privately printed, 1842.)

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

The Parliamentary History of Ireland, which ends with the Union of 1800, can scarcely be said to commence until 1753. Previous to that year there had been occasional and violent outbreaks, as in the case of Wood's half-pence,—there had been little confederacies of family interests struggling for places and pensions,—but no regular and systematic party combinations. It is observed by a contemporary, that up to 1753 the Opposition in the House of Commons had never been able to muster above twenty-eight steady votes against any Government*; but so rapid was the rise in importance of the Irish House of Commons that a borough sold in 1754 for three times as much money as was given in 1750.† The troubles of 1753 had begun by a quarrel between Lord George Sackville, the Secretary under the Vice-Royalty of Dorset, and the Speaker Boyle, both men of ambition and ability. In 1756 Boyle was quieted by the Earldom of Shannon, and a pension of 2,000*l.* a year; but this example of rewarded faction in the Chair was tempting, and, as we have already seen, was followed by his successor. Violent as were these altercations, many of them turned on truly trifling points. The only one of real importance was the disposal of the surplus revenue. This the House of Commons wished to apply to the liquidation of debt. The Government concurred in this mode of application,

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 245.

† Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. i. p. 82.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

but contended that any surplus of revenue belonged of right to the Crown, and could not be disposed of without its consent and approval. It was from the looseness of practice in Ireland as to clauses of appropriation that sprung this controversy, which could never have arisen according to English forms. In the result the Castle (for so the Government was termed at Dublin) carried by narrow majorities some votes in favour of its authority; but the real victory remained with its opponents, who took care, by strict application of the revenue, to guard against the recurrence of any unapplied surplus.*

Tumults, though petty, and almost confined to Dublin, yet indicating the growth of popular ferment, kept pace with these Parliamentary discussions. Thus in 1754, an actor at the Theatre having refused to repeat some lines which appeared to reflect on men in office, and Sheridan, the Manager, not coming forward to justify the prohibition, the audience demolished the inside of the house, and reduced it to a shell. Thus also in 1759 the idea of an union with England was afloat; the English Government was supposed to entertain some such view; and one of the principal Irish Peers, Lord Hillsborough, had let fall an expression in its favour. Immediately all Dublin caught the alarm; the quiet citizens protested; the mob rose in arms. The rioters possessed themselves of the principal streets leading to the Houses of Parliament,

* Hallam's Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 543.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

stopped the Members as they passed along, and obliged them to take an oath that they would vote against an Union. This oath they administered, amongst others, to the Lord Chancellor and to the Bishop of Killala. Several persons were still more roughly handled. They stripped of his clothes one Rowley, a rich Presbyterian, and were proceeding to drown him in the Liffey, when they were, though with difficulty, dissuaded. Lord Inchiquin was despoiled of his periwig and red riband before the oath was proposed to him for repetition. His Lordship had an impediment in his speech; the rioters mistook his stammering for doubt and hesitation, and they would probably have torn him to pieces had not some one in the crowd called out that his name was O'Brien, upon which their fury was turned to acclamation. They next forced their way into the House of Lords, where they found Lord Farnham taking the legal oaths on the death of his father, instead of which they made him take their's. Their recklessness, as usual, growing with its own indulgence, they proceeded to various other acts of gross outrage in the Upper House, placed an old woman on the Royal Throne, and brought her pipes and tobacco. Meanwhile the Privy Council had been hastily called together, and advised the summoning a troop of horse to the rescue. This was done accordingly, though the troopers were ordered not to fire; but, riding in among the mob with their swords drawn, and cutting and slashing, they did

CHAP. XXXIV.

1758.

not quell the tumult until after the loss of fifteen or sixteen lives.*

It is one among the evils of long-continued misrule, that any departure from it seems at first almost as hurtful and as hateful as itself. Scarce ever in the early periods of national release do we find a just mean between servitude and turbulence. The rising aspirations of the Irish for freedom were manifested at this time by the rankest faction in their Parliament,—by the most wanton riots out of doors. Nor is it less remarkable how seldom these throes and struggles of the infant Opposition were aimed against any of the true points of their misgovernment. For the misgovernment of Ireland at that period was undoubtedly great and grievous, from whatever aspect we may choose to view it. If we feel any sympathy or relenting towards the great mass of the population,—the Roman Catholics,—if we detest oppression even where it profits us,—if we deem it unwise to exasperate by ill-treatment their, or any other, creed into a party-symbol,—if we think that their peaceable conduct during the two insurrections of 1715 and 1745 might have inspired some confidence or deserved some favour,—we shall mourn to find that they were still denied by law the education of their children,—that no Papist was allowed to keep a school, or to send his family for instruction in his tenets beyond seas,—that a lady holding such

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 338, vol. ii. p. 401—407.

tenets, and left a widow, could not be guardian to any child, not even to her own,—that on suspicion as to any of these things the burden of proving the negative was thrown on the accused,—that conversion to the Protestant faith was rewarded as a merit, and conversion from it punished as a crime,—that among the holders of real property a Protestant son was enabled in a manner to disinherit a Papist father,—that no new lands could be acquired by the proscribed party, except on short terms and rents not less than two thirds of the full value,—that two justices might at any time search any of their houses for arms. Blackstone himself could only excuse such statutes on the plea that they were seldom exerted to their utmost rigour.*—But if, on the contrary, we incline to think that such severities were justified, either by the duty of religious conversion or by the danger of Stuart Pretenders, we shall, even from that point of view, find abundant cause to condemn the slackness of the ruling powers towards accomplishing their own designs.—We shall concur with the excellent Bishop Berkeley in lamenting the neglect of the Irish language, the absence of all missionary zeal, the frequency of pluralities and non-residence at that time among the Clergy.†—We shall join a most accom-

* Comment., vol. iv. p. 56. ed. 1825. According to Montesquieu: "Ces loix sont si réprimantes qu'elles font tout le mal "qui peut se faire de sang-froid." (Esprit des Loix, livre xix. ch. xxvii.)

† Berkeley's Works, vol. ii. p. 381, &c. ed. 1784.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1758.

plished Lord Lieutenant in desiring measures for the education, on right principles, of Connaught and Kerry. "Let us make them know," he says, "that "there is a God, a King, and a Government,— "three things to which they are at present utter "strangers."*—We shall grieve to behold the Protestant Charter-Schools, intended by Primate Boulter as the most powerful engine of national conversion, so often dwindling into mere petty instruments for personal advantage.—We shall inveigh against those factious schisms and selfish aims which so long divided and disgraced the dominant party, and which at length have opened an ever-widening inlet to the vanquished. How dark a shadow have such bygone abuses cast forward, even over our own times! How large a share of the furious animosities which still prevail in Ireland are clearly owing, not to any actual pressure felt at present, but only to the bitter recollections of the past!

* Earl of Chesterfield to Bishop Chenevix, October 8. 1755.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

THE warfare of 1758 was waged through all the four quarters of the globe. In India, as we shall more fully see hereafter, the Gallic power had begun to sink before the fortune of England and the genius of Clive.—In Africa the French had succeeded in engrossing to themselves the gum trade, along five hundred miles of coast, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia; they had built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal; they had fortified the island of Goree. The idea of dispossessing them from these important settlements was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a Quaker merchant. Peaceful as were both the tenets of his faith and the habits of his calling, he was not withheld by either from framing a scheme of military conquest.*

* When taunted with this religious inconsistency, Mr. Cumming used to answer by exclaiming that his military schemes, if there were but the blessing of Providence upon them, might all be accomplished without shedding a drop of human blood! (See an apologetic note in Smollett's History, book iii. ch. ix. sect. 1.)

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

This scheme he submitted to the Boards of Trade and Admiralty. It was approved; and a small squadron was despatched, under Captain Marsh, having on board Mr. Cumming himself, and a few hundred marines. On the 23d of April they appeared in sight of St. Louis, and no sooner were their forces landed than the French, finding themselves unequal to resistance, agreed to a capitulation on honourable terms.

The English armament was itself, as it proved, inadequate to the further conquest of Goree; but later in the year a fresh armament on a larger scale was despatched from home,—the command being entrusted to Commodore Keppel, the same officer who had sat on Byng's Court Martial. He had on board 700 men of regular troops, while the French garrison of Goree could not muster half that number. The attack took place on the 29th of December. For several hours the British ships poured in their broadsides, while the fire was briskly returned from the batteries on shore; but the former at length prevailed; the French Governor was compelled to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion. During the conflict the opposite shore of the Continent had been lined with crowds of negroes, who expressed their interest or surprise by loud shouts and uncouth gesticulations.*

* Goree had been first planted by the Dutch in 1617. In 1677 it fell into the hands of the French under the Count d'Estrées. The name is derived from *Goeree*, in Dutch "a

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

America became the scene of greater operations. Pitt had early directed his attention to this quarter, had planned the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's, had sent out considerable reinforcements, and what was, perhaps, still more effectual for success, had recalled the Earl of Loudoun. As the commander of the intended expedition, his good judgment selected for the army General Amherst, afterwards Lord Amherst; for the fleet, Admiral Boscawen. Wolfe likewise, who had attracted Pitt's notice by his behaviour before Rochefort, was despatched with the rank of Brigadier General, and as second in command. In these military appointments Pitt disregarded the claims of seniority, passing over many officers of older standing, but inferior merit.* This principle of selection (but skilfully and sparingly applied) was, no doubt, among the main causes at this period of the sudden revival of the British spirit, and the surpassing glory of the British arms. The claims of patronage were now as little heeded as those of seniority. It was no longer asked, as under the Pelhams, before an officer was named: In what borough or county has he votes? Of what Duke or Earl is he cousin? — Every man in the public service now felt that a superior eye was upon him, quick to discern and ready to reward his deserts; with such

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"good road for shipping." (Entick's History of the War, vol. iii. p. 270.

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 261.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

an impulse he soon went beyond the line of mere cold, strict, formal duty; he set his whole heart and soul to the business, and ere long Victory came to crown his exertions!

The armament under Amherst and Boscawen was assembled at Halifax, consisting of 150 sail, and of 12,000 soldiers. On the 2d of June it came to anchor within seven miles of Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton. The land-defences of this place had been carefully strengthened by the French in expectation of an attack; five ships of the line were drawn up in the harbour, and the garrison, soldiers and marines together, exceeded 6,000 men. It was with much difficulty and after stout resistance that the English effected their landing. Wolfe was the first to spring from the boats into the raging surf, and cheer on his soldiers to the charge. During the whole siege his ardour and activity were equally conspicuous. The conduct of General Amherst also deserves high praise; and a most cordial co-operation,—another proof how judiciously the chiefs had been chosen,—prevailed between himself and Admiral Boscawen. For the besieged, they kept up their fire with much spirit, and attempted several sallies, but before the close of July, many of their cannon being dismounted, and divers practicable breaches made in the walls, they were compelled to capitulate. The garrison became prisoners of war, and were transported to England. Besides the ships captured in the harbour, a large amount of stores and ammunition

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

was found in the place. The whole island of Cape Breton submitted on the fall of its capital, and the island of St. John's followed the fate of Cape Breton, being occupied by Colonel Lord Rollo with a detachment of troops. The name of St. John's was afterwards, in compliment to the Royal Family, altered to Prince Edward's Island. These happy news were transmitted to England through Captain Amherst, brother of the General and father of the present Earl, and he was also entrusted with eleven pair of French colours taken at Louisburg. These trophies were, by His Majesty's command, carried in procession, with kettle-drums and trumpets sounding, from Kensington Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral, and there deposited amidst a salute of cannon and other public demonstrations of triumph. Nor were such rejoicings confined to London; a great number of other towns and corporations lighted bonfires in the streets, and sent addresses of congratulation to the King.

On the continent of America General Abercrombie had become senior officer by the recall of Lord Loudoun. Mr. Pitt, though not willing to entrust him with the enterprise against Cape Breton, had proposed to him a more limited and less arduous sphere for his operations,—to reduce the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, and thus open a way for the future conquest of Canada. Accordingly the General began his march from New York at the head of 6,000 regular troops and 10,000 provincial militia. With these he

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

embarked on Lake George, his main object being Ticonderoga, a strong fort on a neck of land between Lake George and Lake Champlain. The English effected their landing without hindrance, and gained some advantage over the French in a petty skirmish, in which, however, Lord Howe, one of their ablest officers, fell. "His life," says an historian, "had been long enough for his honour, "but not for his country."* The enemy were scarce 4,000 strong, but headed by their Commander in chief the Marquis de Montcalm, and occupying a strong entrenched camp close upon the fort. Their breast-works were eight feet in height, and had in front barricades of felled trees, with the branches outwards. So misinformed or so presumptuous was General Abercrombie, that he expected to force this strong position by musketry alone, and resolved to commence his attack without awaiting his artillery, which, for want of good roads, was yet lagging in the rear. Thus, on the 8th of July, the British troops marched up to the onset with undaunted courage, and bravely continued the fire for several hours, but the difficulties before them proved insurmountable, and they were at length withdrawn, after a loss, in killed and wounded, of nearly 2,000 men. The General, who is ac-

* Annual Register, 1758, p. 73. This useful compilation begins with 1758, and has been continued by different hands until the present time. The earlier narratives (ascribed principally to Burke) are written with great spirit, and compiled with great care.

cused of never having approached the scene of actual conflict nearer than the post of Saw-Mills, two miles distant*, was as precipitate in his final retreat as in his first attack. Far from seeking to retrieve his disaster, or making use of his greatly superior force, he hastened to re-embark his men, and to return whence he came. So headlong was his course, that, as an officer present informs us, a great number of entrenching tools, and several boatloads of provisions, were left behind;—"all "strong indications," he adds, "of an unaccountable "panic."

At Philadelphia a much less considerable force had been assembled under Brigadier Forbes, and had received orders from England to advance against Fort Duquesne. This line of march, destitute at that time of all military roads, and beset with morasses and mountains, was fraught with no common difficulties; these, however, were courageously overcome, and, as the English approached, the French garrison of Fort Duquesne,—struck with alarm,—dismantled their works, and withdrew. Thus, on the 25th of November, Brigadier Forbes took peaceable possession of the place. He repaired this fort, the contention for which had been one main cause of the war, and, with the unanimous concurrence of his officers, altered its name to PITTSBURG,—a well-earned compliment to the Minister who had planned its conquest.

* Entick's History, vol. iii. p. 258.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

In England, Mr. Pitt, undeterred by the failure before Rochefort, was still firmly bent on expeditions to the coast of France. A formidable armament assembled at Spithead, its precise destination remaining strictly secret. No less than 14,000 troops of the line and 6,000 marines went on board; having for their chief, Charles, second Duke of Marlborough, a man, beyond all question, brave, good-natured, and generous, but of no shining talents in the field or elsewhere. Second in command was the late Secretary for Ireland, Lord George Sackville. With these embarked a crowd of high-born volunteers,—"the purplest blood of England," says Horace Walpole.*—At the head of the naval branch was Commodore Howe; Lord Anson also embarked with the expedition, but stood out to sea with the larger ships. On the 5th of June the transports cast anchor in the Bay of Cancalle. Next day the troops, being set on shore, were led by the Duke of Marlborough against St. Malo. The strength of the fortifications precluded a COUP DE MAIN†, but the Duke set on fire and destroyed, almost under the cannon of the place, a great quan-

* To Sir H. Mann, June 11. 1758. This phrase is derived from the *Sangre Azul* of the Castillians,—a phrase by which they express a descent

"Through the most Gothic gentlemen of Spain."

† "Sur le plus grand de ces îlots de granit on a bati "St. Malo, qui à marée haute ne tient à la terre que par la "grande route....—A marée basse le parapet est souvent à "soixante pieds des flots." (Mémoires d'un Touriste (M. Beyle), vol. ii. p. 144. ed. Bruxelles, 1838.)

tity of naval stores, three ships of war, and about 130 privateers and trading craft. After this feat the troops were quietly re-embarked. The armament in its further progress appeared before both Granville and Cherbourg, but was restrained from any attack by the state either of the weather or the works. On the 1st of July it was again anchored safe at Spithead. There is no doubt that the damage done to the French shipping had been considerable, and that the apprehension or the approach of this expedition had effectually withheld the French from sending any succours to Germany. This effect was frequently and warmly acknowledged in Prince Ferdinand's despatches. On the other hand, it can as little be denied that the results of this great armament were far from corresponding to the sums it had cost, or to the hopes it had excited. Mr. Fox, and other grumblers, called it breaking windows with guineas, and applied the fable of the mountain and the mouse.* Moreover, the speedy re-embarkation of the troops, which must attend this kind of warfare, has always an appearance of flight, and affords matter of triumph to an enemy. The King remarked of this expedition very sensibly: "I never had any opinion of "it; we shall brag of having burnt their ships, and "they of driving us away!"†

Next month, however, the attempt was resumed

* Lord Chesterfield to his son, June 27. 1758.

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 305.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

with a smaller force. On this second occasion the command had been offered to Lord George Sackville, but he, preferring to serve under the Duke of Marlborough in Germany, replied that he was "tired "of buccaneering!" The command, therefore, devolved on General Bligh, a worn-out veteran. With him embarked the young and high-spirited Prince Edward, next brother to the Prince of Wales. The troops, being set on shore near Cherbourg, found the town forsaken by the garrison, and proceeded to destroy the forts and the basin. So strong and compact was the masonry of the latter that for a long time it baffled the miner's tools. It bore an inscription commemorating its construction through the orders of Cardinal Fleury and the plans of Marshal Asfeld, and announcing that it stood for all eternity*;—that eternity, as it proved, lasted less than thirty years! 170 pieces of iron cannon were destroyed; twenty-two of fine brass were embarked, and afterwards carried with great pomp and procession through the City of London to the Tower. But whatever glory might redound to the British troops from such trophies became tarnished by their own ill-conduct; discipline was neglected by the officers; and the common men, notwithstanding a Manifesto promising protection

* LVDOVICI XV JUSSU
FLORIAE CONSILIO
ASFELDI DUCTU
IN AEVUM STAT HAEC MOLES.

Ars, Naturæ Victrix . . . . simul Principem, sapientem, heroa posteritati commendat.

to the peaceable inhabitants, disgraced themselves by numerous acts of plunder and riot.

1758.

The destruction being completed, and the troops re-embarked, they steered towards St. Malo, and were again set on shore. It was found, however, (as the commanders should have known from the former expedition,) that St. Malo was too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success. Thus then the army was allowed to rove in a desultory manner over the adjoining district without any settled plan, and committing numerous excesses. At length, news was brought that the Duke of Aiguillon was approaching at the head of superior forces, and our troops hastened to rejoin the ships in the bay of St. Cast. But here there was no care taken to cover and protect the embarkation. The French kept aloof until, on the 11th of September, the whole army was on board, except the rear-guard of 1,500 men under Major General Dury; they then began a regular and well-concerted attack. General Dury himself was dangerously wounded, and attempting to swim towards his ships was drowned; and the whole English loss in killed and prisoners was nearly 1,000 men. So strong was the public feeling against Bligh for his miscarriage at St. Cast that he found it necessary on his return to England to resign both his regiment and his government.*

* The French commander was no less blamed than the English. "M. d'Aiguillon, au lieu de se mettre à la tête des "troupes, monta dans un moulin, d'où il vit l'action et les "Anglais repoussés." (Mémoires de Besenval, vol. ii. p. 172.)

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

On the Elbe, the new General of the Hanoverian army, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, commenced his campaign before the close of February. He had no longer the Duke de Richelieu before him; that chief had so far alienated Hanover, and ruined his own army, by his exactions and want of discipline, that he had been recalled to Paris. In his place had come the Count de Clermont, a Prince of the Blood Royal, wholly inexperienced in war, and chiefly known as holding the rich abbey of St. Germain. The wits of Paris used to say of him, that he preached like a soldier and fought like an apostle! * Before his arrival the French forces were reduced to a dismal situation by their own excesses, by sickness, by the want of due supplies, and by the severity of the season. It is alleged that Count de Clermont hereupon wrote to his Sovereign as follows:—That he had found His Majesty's army divided into three bodies, one above ground, who were become a parcel of thieves and vagabonds, and all in rags;—another under ground;—and the third in the hospitals. Therefore he desired His Majesty's instructions whether he should endeavour to bring the first away, or whether he should stay till it had joined the other two! †

* "Moitié casaque, moitié rabat,
"Clermont en vaut bien un autre,
"Il prêche comme un soldat
"Et se bat comme un apôtre."
"Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 133.

† Entick's History, vol. iii. p. 126.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

Thus then the French forces were in no condition to withstand the Hanoverian when advancing with boldness and directed with ability. As Prince Ferdinand approached, the enemy retired successively from Zelle, from Hanover, from Hameln; and they were dislodged at Hoya on the Weser, with the loss of 1,500 prisoners. The whole Electorate was recovered for King George, but was found most grievously plundered and impoverished. "We are a ruined people in this "country," writes a gentleman of Zelle, on the 9th of March, "and God knows how we shall "or can maintain ourselves..... I have been "this week out of town, and have found most "people there, as I may say, naked; they creep "together like sheep, to keep one another warm; "and they have nothing left to live upon." But one at least of the French generals stands clear from the guilt of having caused such sufferings. The Duke de Randan, Governor of the town of Hanover, had not only taken effectual measures for restraining his garrison within the bounds of discipline, but when he commenced his retreat, instead of destroying the magazines of provisions which he could not remove, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered them to be distributed among the poor. His name,—and this was surely no light compliment after such a conquest,—was gratefully commemorated in the sermons preached at Hanover on

CHAP. XXXV.

the day of solemn thanksgiving for their national deliverance.

1758. Still retreating, and still pursued, the French gradually fell back to the Rhine, and crossed that river near Wesel. Prince Ferdinand, with equal skill and spirit, effected his own passage in the neighbourhood of the enemy, and on the 23d of June brought them to a battle at Crefeld, when, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, the French were worsted with a loss of 6,000 men. The first result of this victory was the fall of Dusseldorp, which Prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced. But the battle of Crefeld had also important consequences both in Paris and in London. The French Ministers, exasperated at their failure, recalled their incapable commander, and sent in his place the Mareschal de Contades at the head of considerable reinforcements. They also directed the Prince de Soubise to attempt a diversion by marching forward from Hanau into Hesse. This order was promptly executed, and the Hessians were overthrown, with heavy loss. Under all these circumstances, Prince Ferdinand, finding it impossible to maintain his position beyond the Rhine, or to bring the enemy to another conflict, retired into Westphalia, fixing his head-quarters at Munster.

British auxiliaries, however, were already on their way to reinforce him. So elated was the

whole nation at the gallantry and success of Prince Ferdinand at Crefeld, that Pitt found himself supported, nay impelled, by the public feeling, when he adopted the bold measure of sending to his aid several regiments from England. No sooner had the Duke of Marlborough landed from the first expedition to St. Malo than he was ordered on this service. The troops disembarked in the port of Embden, which, during the French retreat from Hanover, had been occupied by two English ships of war. From thence they marched to join Prince Ferdinand's army, but arrived too late for him or for them to undertake any thing further during this campaign. Moreover, their chief, the Duke of Marlborough, died shortly after their arrival,—of a dysentery, as was said,—but not without some circumstances of strange and mysterious suspicion.* 1758.

The King of Prussia, after his great victory at Leuthen, had fixed his winter-quarters at Breslau. Even with the snow deep upon the ground he had kept Schweidnitz closely blockaded. He had besieged and reduced that important fortress at the first appearance of spring. Next, ever most ready where least expected, he suddenly burst into Moravia, and invested Olmütz, its capital. But he had

* The extraordinary case of the threatening letters addressed to the Duke, and signed "Felton," will be found fully detailed in the Annual Register, 1758, p. 121—127. This was the case as it appeared in the Duke's life-time; his death so shortly afterwards gives great additional significance to the story.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

now before him far different chiefs from Charles of Lorraine;—the cool, cautious, far-sighted Daun, who has been surnamed the Austrian Fabius *;—Laudohn, gifted with enterprise and boldness almost equal to his own. While Daun remained securely intrenched, throwing in supplies to the Imperial garrison, or cutting off the Prussian outposts, but avoiding any general engagement, Laudohn darted forward with his cavalry, and succeeded in capturing or destroying a train of 3,000 waggons from Silesia. It was on these that Frederick had depended for the food and ammunition of his troops. Thus, on the 1st of July, he found it necessary to raise the siege; but instead of retiring to his own dominions, as Daun imagined, he turned discomfiture into invasion, and struck across the bordering mountains into the heart of Bohemia. There he maintained himself in the strong position of Königinngratz, until called elsewhere to repel the advancing Russians.

The slow progress of the Russians up to that time had been a matter of surprise and speculation to the politicians of Europe. "Either," says Lord Chesterfield, "they have had a sop from "the King of Prussia, or they want an animating "dram from France and Austria." † Now, how-

* He is thus termed on the medal which was struck at Vienna in his praise: LEOPOLDUS COMES DE DAUN: GERMANORUM FABIUS MAXIMUS:—CUNCTANDO VICISTI; CUNCTANDO VINCERE PERGE. 1758.

† Letter to his son, May 30. 1758.

ever, they were quickened by fresh orders from Petersburg, and by a new commander, General Fermor. They occupied, almost without resistance, the city of Königsberg, and the whole Prussian territory beyond the Vistula, and they then pushed forward, at least 50,000 strong, towards the Oder. The barbarities committed on their march were worthy of their Scythian forefathers. Everywhere their track was marked by the smoke of the burning villages and the wail of the houseless peasants. Thus, also, when they arrived before Cüstrin, within a few marches of Berlin, they wantonly bombarded and destroyed the town before they proceeded to besiege the fortress. In this siege they were still engaged when Frederick appeared before them, having hastened from Bohemia by forced marches. He had brought with him about 14,000 soldiers; he had found about 20,000 more. On the 25th of August the two armies met on the plain of Zorndorf at no great distance from Cüstrin. The battle began at eight in the morning, and continued with little intermission till eight at night. The Prussians, exasperated by the sufferings of their countrymen around them, had resolved to give no quarter *,—and the Russians neither gave nor asked it. Both parties flew to the conflict, less like warring armies than as personal

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

* It is owned by the Prussian writers that this order was given by Frederick himself: "Der König befahl, keinem "Russen in der Schlacht pardon zu geben." (Archenholtz, vol. i. p. 169.)

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

and rancorous foemen. Thus, for instance, a Prussian and a Russian were found on the plain locked in each other's arms, both grievously wounded,—the Prussian unable to move,—and the Russian maimed in both hands, but still endeavouring to tear asunder his prostrate opponent with his teeth. Few battles accordingly have been more bloody, considering the numbers engaged. At the close of the day there had fallen dead or wounded 11,000 of Frederick's army, and 20,000 of Fermor's. The victory had been decided for the Prussians, mainly by the heroic exertions of their horse, led on by General Seydlitz, one of the best cavalry officers whom the world has ever seen. Yet the Russians could still maintain through the night a part of the battle-field, and pretend to claim the honours of victory; they marched back with their columns diminished, but unbroken; nor was it until after attempting, though unsuccessfully, the siege of Colberg, that they retired for winter-quarters beyond the Vistula. Frederick himself hastened back to Saxony, where, during his absence, his brother, Prince Henry, had been closely pressed by the Austrians.

The Russian prisoners (for some prisoners were made on the day after the battle, and during the retreat,) were sent for safe custody to the fortress of Magdeburg. There the Royal Family of Prussia had ever since the preceding campaign sought shelter. There also were immured the captives of Rosbach and of Leuthen. We may well con-

ceive how the inhabitants, secure behind their ramparts from the sufferings of war, were elated at its glory. We may yet trace the recollections of a German writer of some note, then a schoolboy at Magdeburg: "How my young heart," says he, "used to bound when I heard couriers "arriving, in constant succession and amidst sound- "ing clarions, each with the news of some fortress "taken, of some victory won; when I saw com- "panies of invalids bringing in whole armies of "prisoners from the furthest points of the great "nations banded against us,—from the borders "of the gulf of Gascony to the roots of the "mountains of Ural!"* CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

Once again in Saxony, the King speedily reduced Daun to the defensive. His own camp was fixed at Hochkirchen in front of Bautzen, and close to the Bohemian lines. But in this exposed position he had neglected his usual care and vigilance before an enemy. Daun and Laudohn, combining their movements, surprised his camp before daybreak on a winter morning. Starting from his rest, Frederick beheld his troops scattered or slaughtered all around him, and nothing but his presence of mind and intrepidity preserved them from utter ruin. As it was he lost 100 pieces of cannon, twenty-eight standards, and 9,000 men in killed and wounded. None among the slain were more

* Rötger, Rückblicke ins Leben, p. 12.—Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 38.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

deeply and more deservedly lamented than Field Marshal James Keith, brother of the exiled Earl Marischal of Scotland. His private virtues were not less conspicuous than his military talents. Some days previously he had warned Frederick of the danger of his unguarded position. "If the "Austrians," said he, "leave us quiet here, they "will deserve to be hanged!"* At the first sound of the hostile firing he had hastened to the head of his troops; seeing them disperse, he sought by beat of drum to rally them; even a wound could not make him quit the field, until another bullet laid the British hero (for as our's let us still claim him!) lifeless on the ground.

The date of this disastrous battle was the 14th of October. "On the very day," writes Frederick, "that the King was defeated at Hochkirchen by "the Austrians, his sister the Margravine of Ba-"reith expired. No doubt the ancient Romans "would have ascribed some fatal omen to that day "when two such grievous blows struck the King "together."† Fatal indeed has been the omen of that day to the House of Hohen-zollern. On the 14th of October, forty-eight years afterwards, the

* Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 171. The King wittily answered, "I hope they are more afraid of us than of "the gallows!"—See also an interesting letter from Keith to his brother, Earl Marischal, dated the very day before the battle, and printed in Lord Dover's Life of Frederick II. (vol. ii. p. 140.)

† Œuvres Posthumes, vol. ii. p. 268. ed. 1789. See also his letter to Voltaire, April 22. 1759.

whole heritage of Frederick,—the whole monarchy of Prussia,—was overwhelmed in the rout of Jena.

1758.

Had the Austrians followed up their success at Hochkirchen they might, perhaps, have ended the war. But Daun, whose own army had suffered severely, hesitated during several days, and these days enabled Frederick to repair his losses. Having by some skilful manœuvres misled the enemy as to his designs, he suddenly marched into Silesia, and raised the siege of Neisse, which another Austrian division had for some time invested. Thence, darting back into Saxony, he rescued Dresden, which was already close pressed by Daun; and then, the winter having now set in, he closed this chequered campaign, fixing, as before, his own head quarters at Breslau. Berlin he had resolved not to re-enter so long as the war continued.

In November the British Parliament met. On this occasion, says a Member of the House of Commons, "Mr. Pitt made the most artful speech "he ever made,—provoked, called for, defied, objec- "tions,—promised enormous expense,—demanded "never to be judged by events. Universal silence "left him arbiter of his own terms."* Nor did this unanimity and this silence prevail but for a single night; they endured throughout the Ses-

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 27. 1758. It was in the course of this speech that Pitt, placing himself in an attitude of defiance, exclaimed in his loudest tone: "Is there "an Austrian among you? Let him stand forward and reveal "himself!"—See Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 153.

CHAP. XXXV. 1758.

sion. The general submission of the House to the Minister's measures seemed rather heightened and enhanced, as by contrast, from the stubborn resistance of a single Member, Mr. Vyner, who declaimed to empty benches against almost every thing proposed. A new Subsidy to Prussia, like the last of 670,000*l.*, was readily voted. The total amount of the estimates for the year approached the hitherto unparalleled height of twelve millions and a half;—an annual expenditure, which, moderate as it may be deemed by the present generation, appeared altogether incredible and ruinous to the last.* Pitt himself was startled at the sum. "I "wish to God,"—thus he writes to Newcastle,—"I could see my way through this mountain of "expense!"†

This wondrous unanimity,—this sudden stilling of the troubled waves of faction,—this combination of the long-dissevered words, Ministerial and Patriot,—was owing in no small degree to the newly established concord between the statesman at the Foreign Office and the intriguer at the Treasury. According to Horace Walpole's just description, "Mr. Pitt DOES every thing; the Duke of New-"castle GIVES every thing. As long as they can

* The total expenditure in 1759 was 12,503,564*l.* (Sinclair's Public Revenue, part iii. p. 69.)—about 200,000*l.* beyond the Estimates. "A most incredible sum!" writes Lord Chesterfield to his son, December 15. 1758.

† Letter, April 4. 1758.—Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 305.

"agree in this partition they may do what they "will."* Thus also Lord Chesterfield tells us, with his usual quiet touch of satire: "Domestic "affairs go just as they did; the Duke of New- "castle and Mr. Pitt jog on like man and wife; "that is, seldom agreeing, often quarrelling, but, by "mutual interest upon the whole, not parting."†— But no doubt a still more efficient cause of the unanimity in Parliament at this time may be found in the growing success and glory of our arms, under Pitt's administration, and the equally augmented confidence of the people in his counsels.

Thus ended the year 1758. But, before dismissing it, let me not leave wholly unnoticed, although I cannot relate in detail, the gallant actions of the British Navy. In the course of that year we captured or destroyed sixteen French men of war, forty-nine privateers, and 104 merchant ships. In the latter respect, however, the enemy had the advantage; for their captures of merchant ships exceeded 300, while of our privateers they took only seven, and of our men of war only three. We had also seized 176 neutral ships, as laden with French colonial produce or with military stores; these ships were chiefly Dutch, and engaged us for some time in acrimonious discussions with the Government of Holland.‡

* To Sir H. Mann, November 27. 1758.

† To his son, May 18. 1758.

‡ Entick's History of the War, vol. iii. p. 396—423.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

During the course of this war, both by land and sea, it has been alleged,—perhaps unjustly,—that the French, dispirited by their worthless government, and their growing sense of public misrule, did not fight with altogether their usual gallantry and ardour.—Early in 1759, however, our manifold successes stung even the feeble Court of Versailles into something like enterprise. A descent upon our own shores was threatened in good earnest; at Havre, and several other ports, flat-bottomed boats were seen building for the projected invasion, and large fleets were equipped at Toulon and at Brest, besides a small squadron at Dunkirk, under the command of Thurot, a brave and skilful seaman. But these measures were neither sufficiently extensive nor yet well-timed. A superior British fleet rode the Channel,—a superior British force lined the coast*; both were supported by the unanimous public feeling at home, and each seemed fully able to defeat,—nay, even to destroy,—the hostile armament whenever it advanced.—Pitt had taken vigorous and timely steps, both in defence and in retaliation. In May he brought down a Royal Message that His Majesty might be enabled to march the regiments of militia out of their several counties, and he made a noble speech on this occasion, finely distinguishing between the various kinds

* "All the country squires are in regimentals. A pedestal "is making for little Lord Montfort, that he may be placed "at the head of the Cambridgeshire Militia!"—H. Walpole to Mann, August 1. 1759.

of fear; "this," he said, "is a magnanimous fear!" —In July, under his instructions, Admiral George Rodney anchored in the roads of Havre, and began a bombardment, which continued for fifty-two hours without intermission, to the damage of that flourishing town,—to the destruction of many of the new-constructed boats.—In August, the Toulon fleet under M. de La Clue, on its way to take part in these northern operations, was pursued by Admiral Boscawen from Gibraltar, and attacked off Lagos in Algarve, when, of its largest ships, two were captured, and two others run ashore. This victory, however, involved us in a protracted negotiation with the Portuguese, who complained, with reason, that the neutrality of their coasts had been violated.*—An English squadron in the Downs watched the armament at Dunkirk;—an English fleet under Sir Edward Hawke blockaded Brest.

1759.

The necessity of providing for defence at home in no degree damped Pitt's ardour for foreign conquest.—An expedition was despatched against the French islands in the West Indies, consisting of six regiments and several ships of war, and commanded by General Hopson and Commodore Moore. Martinico was their first object, but after a descent, and

* See, in the Appendix, Mr. Pitt's letters to Mr. Hay (Sept. 12. 1759) and to Lord Kinnoul (May 30. 1760). "You "will," he says, "take care to avail yourself of all the cir- "cumstances of extenuation . . . . But you will be particularly "attentive,"—adds the Minister, with his usual lofty spirit,— "not to employ any favourable circumstances to justify what "the Law of Nations condemns!"

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

a consideration of the defences, the troops were re-embarked, and the destination was changed to Guadaloupe. That island is of great fertility and importance; its population being then about 10,000 whites and 30,000 negro slaves, whose value (thank God that we have survived the age of such computations!) was not less than 1,250,000*l.** The town of Basseterre was besieged and bombarded, until some stores of rum catching fire obliged the garrison to retire to an entrenched camp on the adjoining hills. From this position they were forced by the English, with some loss; and a capitulation for the whole island was signed on the 1st of May.—General Hopson having died of a fever, the command had devolved on General Barrington, but as he was disabled by the gout the principal merit of this expedition belongs to Colonel Clavering.

A still more important aim of Pitt's enterprise was the conquest of Canada. The other French dominions and dependencies in North America had already fallen like outposts, but Canada, as the citadel, remained,—the last and greatest of all.—That province is thought to derive its name from the Indian word KANATA, which denotes a collection of huts, but which the first discoverers mistook as applying to the country.† It had been settled, or, at least, explored, by the French so early as the reign of Francis the First, but it was not until the

* Entick's History, vol. iv. p. 175.

† Colonial Library, by R. M. Martin, Esq., vol. i. Introduction; and a note to Charlevoix, Nouvelle France, vol. i. p. 9.

next century that the cities of Quebec and Montreal arose;—the former in connection with the Commercial Company of the West Indies,—the latter with the religious seminary of St. Sulpice. Louis XIV., however, early in his reign decided on resuming the rights of the Crown, and forming Canada into a Royal Government. In 1759 the population of this colony was of 60,000 souls; scarcely more—so rapid has been the growth of its prosperity—than the annual amount of its immigration eighty-three years afterwards!*—In fact, few countries were ever more highly gifted with whatever can conduce to the welfare and the greatness of a people;—a fertile soil, abundant and excellent timber, navigable lakes and rivers, a rigorous but healthy and invigorating climate.

In comparing together the French and the English colonists in North America at this period of 1759, we shall find, as is acknowledged by the French historians, the English far superior in numbers and wealth, in trade and industry.† But, on the other hand, the French had reaped no small advan-

* Mr. Buchanan, Agent of Emigration, estimates the total accession to the population of Canada during 1842 (deducting those immigrants who merely took the province on their way to the United States) as at least 50,000. (Report to Sir Charles Bagot, December 31. 1842.)

† Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 172. Père Charlevoix says, in 1721: "Il regne dans la Nouvelle Angle-"terre une opulence dont il semble qu'on ne sait point profiter, "et dans la Nouvelle France une pauvreté cachée par un air "d'aisance." (Nouvelle France, vol. iii. p. 80.)

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

tage from their more lively temper and more conciliatory manners; they had attached to themselves much the greater proportion of the Red Indian tribes. It is true that the English as well as the French could claim the assistance of some of these savage allies, who, besides fighting with courage or suffering with firmness, were ever ready to destroy defenceless property, to fire unguarded outposts, to murder and to scalp their prisoners,—atrocities which both English and French accused each other by turns of secretly directing, and which it is certain at least that neither were sufficiently zealous to prevent. But by far the larger numbers of this Indian race, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Missisippi, had become estranged from the English and friendly to the French.—No man was more skilful in maintaining this attachment, or employing it in war, than the Marquis de Montcalm, the French General in Canada, and the second in authority to their Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Montcalm was born at Nismes in 1712; he had attained high rank in the service of his country at home, and no less high praise for skill, honour, and intrepidity. To cope with such an adversary on his own ground, within sight of his own walls of Quebec, required no common mind;—a hero was needed,—but a hero was found, when the execution of Pitt's designs on Canada was wisely committed to WOLFE.

The father of our hero, General Edward Wolfe, a veteran from the wars of Marlborough, had on

his retirement fixed himself at Westerham in Kent, where he rented the vicarage house as his residence. In that house his eldest son, James, was born, in 1726. At the early age of fourteen the boy entered the army. He was present at the battles of Dettingen in 1742, of Fontenoy in 1745, and of Lauffeld in 1747. Such was his conduct on the last occasion as to attract the notice and receive the thanks of his chief, the Duke of Cumberland. After the peace,—being already, at the age of twenty-two, a Lieutenant Colonel,—he was quartered in Scotland, and then in the south of England. Nature had done but little for him in either comeliness or vigour; he had flaming red hair, and, contrary to the fashion of the times, wore no powder to conceal it. Even from his early youth he had suffered severely through the stone; and the seeds of other fatal diseases were deep-laid in his constitution. Nor were his first address and manner engaging, although in private life he was esteemed by all who knew him, as upright, religious, and humane. It is observed by himself in writing to his mother: "My nature requires some extraordinary events "to produce itself. I want that attention and "those assiduous cares that commonly go along "with good-nature and humanity. In the common "occurrences of life I own I am not seen to advan-"tage."* Happy they who can thus calmly and

1759.

* Letter dated September 28. 1755. Many letters addressed by Wolfe to his family were in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Streatfield of Chart's-Edge near Westerham, and were,

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

truly judge their own character! Still happier they to whom "extraordinary events" do afford an open field for extraordinary powers! How common and how cruel either of these alternatives in human life,—incapacities which embitter and disgrace a high station,—or talents which pine in a low one!

The correspondence of Wolfe contains frequent and favourable indications of his character. To his mother he writes from Glasgow: "I have "observed your instructions so religiously, that, "rather than want the Word, I got the reputation "of a very good Presbyterian, by frequenting the "Kirk of Scotland till our chaplain appears."* It may be remembered that Dr. Johnson, on the contrary, thought it better to pass several months without joining in public worship rather than attend a church which rejected Episcopal Ordination. Thus, again, Wolfe writes from Inverness: "There "are times when men fret at trifles, and quarrel "with their toothpicks. In one of these ill habits "I exclaim against my present condition, and "think it the worst of all, but, coolly and temperately, it is plainly the best. Where there is "most employment and least vice there one should "wish to be."† Thus, on another occasion, to

at my application, most courteously communicated by that gentleman to the Rev. G. R. Gleig.—See Mr. Gleig's Lives of British Commanders, vol. ii. p. 355.

* Letter, August 13. 1749.

† To his mother, November 6. 1751.

his father: "By my mother's letter I find that "your bounty and liberality keep pace, as they "usually do, with my necessities. I shall not "abuse your kindness, nor receive it unthankfully, "and what use I make of it shall be for your "honour and the King's service; an employment "worthy the hand that gives it."* CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

The amiable temper of Wolfe strongly inclined him from an early age to domestic life. In another passage of his correspondence he declares that he has "a turn of mind that favours matrimony pro-"digiously; I love children, and think them neces-"sary to people in their latter days."† But struggling with such wishes, and at length overpowering them, there glowed in his mind an ardent and chivalrous love of fame. It is this union of the gentle and the bold,—of ambition and affection,—that gives, as it appears to me, to his character an especial charm. His profession he had closely studied, and he thoroughly understood. And he possessed, moreover,—what no mere study can confer,—activity, enterprise, and readiness,—a courage that never quailed before danger, nor yet ever shrunk from responsibility. Over that aspiring spirit ill health could no more triumph than domestic repose. Thus, though sickness compelled him to return to England after the conquest of Cape Breton, he lost no time in offering his services

* Letter, February 18. 1755.

† To his mother, November 6. 1751.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

to Pitt for the next American campaign.* Pitt on his part bravely set at defiance the claims of seniority on this most important occasion. Had he consulted those claims only,—had he, like many Ministers before and after him, thought the "Army List" an unerring guide,—he might probably have sent out to Canada a veteran experienced and brave, but no longer quick and active, and might, perhaps, have received in return a most eloquent and conclusive apology for being beaten, or for standing still!

A slight incident connected with these times is recorded by tradition, and affords a striking proof how much a fault of manner may obscure and disparage high excellence of mind.—After Wolfe's appointment, and on the day preceding his embarkation for America, Pitt, desirous of giving his last verbal instructions, invited him to dinner, Lord Temple being the only other guest.—As the evening advanced, Wolfe—heated, perhaps, by his own aspiring thoughts, and the unwonted society of statesmen,—broke forth into a strain of gasconade and bravado. He drew his sword, he rapped the table with it, he flourished it round the room, he talked of the mighty things which that sword was to achieve. The two ministers sat aghast at an exhibition so unusual from any man of real sense and real spirit. And when at last Wolfe had

* His letter is dated St. James's Street, November 22. 1758, and is printed in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 370.

taken his leave, and his carriage was heard to roll from the door, Pitt seemed for the moment shaken in the high opinion which his deliberate judgment had formed of Wolfe; he lifted up his eyes and arms, and exclaimed to Lord Temple: "Good "God! that I should have entrusted the fate of "the country and of the administration to such "hands!"—This story was told by Lord Temple himself to a near and still surviving relative,—one of my best and most valued friends. It confirms Wolfe's own avowal, that he was not seen to advantage in the common occurrences of life, and shows how shyness may at intervals rush, as it were, for refuge, into the opposite extreme; but it should also lead us to view such defects of manner with indulgence, as proving that they may co-exist with the highest ability and the purest virtue.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

The scheme of Pitt for the conquest of Canada comprised three separate expeditions, Quebec being the point of junction and the final object for each. On the left, a body of Provincials under General Prideaux, and of friendly Indians under Sir William Johnson, was to advance against Niagara, reduce that fortress, embark on Lake Ontario, and threaten Montreal. In the centre was the main army, consisting of 12,000 men, whose command had been taken from General Abercrombie after the last campaign, and entrusted to General Amherst. The instructions of Amherst were, to renew the attack on Ticonderoga, secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, and then push forward along

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

the river Richelieu, to combine his operations with Wolfe. To Wolfe himself a force of 8,000 men was committed; he was ordered to embark in the fleet of Admiral Saunders, and to sail up the St. Lawrence as soon as its navigation should be clear of ice, with the view of attempting the siege of Quebec. This plan, as formed by a civilian*, has not escaped censure from some military critics, who enlarge especially on the imprudence of prescribing or expecting co-operation between bodies of troops so widely distant, composed of such various elements, and liable to all the hazard and uncertainty of water-carriage. It was hardly possible that Amherst and Wolfe should arrive before Quebec at the same period of time; and failing their junction it was highly probable that the first who came would be overpowered by Montcalm and his covering army.† It is certainly true that the success, however brilliant, of any scheme, is no clear or unerring proof of its prudence and sagacity. The longer we live and the more closely we observe the larger shall we find the share in all human transactions of what fools call Fortune, and wise men Providence. But, on the other hand, let it never be forgotten how much easier it is to cavil than to act!

* In a letter to Pitt, dated November 6. 1759, Mrs. Wolfe, the mother of the General, refers to the conquest of Quebec by her son—"which you, Sir, planned, and he executed." (Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 450.)

† Some of these criticisms are drawn out in array by Smollett. (Hist., book iii. ch. xi. sect. 13.)

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

In pursuance of these instructions, Generals Prideaux and Johnson advanced to Niagara, and commenced the siege of its fort towards the middle of July. They found the defences strong, and held by a garrison of 600 men. The investment had not long been formed before Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, but Johnson, who succeeded to the chief command, displayed in a high degree both bravery and conduct. While still securing his trenches against the garrison, he disposed his troops to engage the enemy, who were approaching to relieve the fort with a body of 1,700 men, composed partly of Europeans, partly of provincials, and partly of savages. They began the attack with a shrill and terrific scream,—the war-whoop of the Indian tribes,—which overpowered for the time even the roar of the neighbouring cataract*,—and on they came with headlong haste and ardour; but they were so well received by our troops in front, and by our Indians in flank, that in less than an hour's time they were completely routed. The pursuit of them was hot and bloody, continuing for five miles, and among the prisoners were the enemy's first and second in command. This action was fought within sight of the garrison, and determined their capitulation the same night, they remaining prisoners of war. To the public, at that time, the taking of Niagara seemed of especial value, as

* Grahame's History of the United States, vol. iv. p. 43.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

effectually breaking that French communication, so much talked of, and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana.* But, on the other hand, Sir William Johnson found it impossible to pursue in this campaign the further designs which had been contemplated for his army beyond Lake Ontario.

In the same month of July General Amherst appeared before Ticonderoga. A resolute resistance was expected; but when the French observed the strength of our troops, and the judgment of our preparations for a siege, they retired in the night, having first in some degree dismantled the works. These it was the first object of General Amherst to repair. He then advanced against the enemy, who had retreated to Crown Point, another fort further up Lake Champlain. As he drew near, however, the enemy abandoned this fort also. They had still about 3,500 men, and several armed boats and sloops, with which they took up a strong position on the Isle aux Noix at the upper end of the Lake. Thus, before the English General could pretend to dislodge them, or to carry the war into Canada, he found it necessary to attain a naval superiority. For this object he directed the construction of boats at Ticonderoga, while also employed in strengthening the fortifica-

* See the Annual Register, 1759, p. 34. A pamphlet published in 1757 says of Niagara: "It is by this place alone "that the French are and ever will be able to over-run our "colonies in the manner they do."

tions at Crown Point. During this whole period he had not been able to maintain any communication with General Wolfe, or to receive the slightest intelligence of his movements, except a few vague hints from the Marquis de Montcalm, in some letters that passed between them relative to the exchange of prisoners. It was not until October that Amherst's little flotilla was completed; he then embarked his troops on Lake Champlain, but was twice driven back by storms. In fact, the favourable season of the year had already passed away. It became necessary, therefore, for the General to postpone his further operations, and to dispose his troops in winter quarters.—Slight as appear the occurrences of this campaign, it was honoured with high praise from Pitt in the House of Commons. "If it was in Vegetius," cried he, "all the world would admire; it is in "America, and nobody regards it!"*

But both these expeditions are cast into the shade by Wolfe's. He had, according to his instructions, embarked on board the fleet of Admiral Saunders, which, after touching at Louisburg and Halifax, steered for the mouth of the St. Lawrence. During the voyage were taken two small store vessels of the enemy; a capture which seemed of slight importance, but which proved of the greatest, for on board these ships were found some excellent charts of the river, which enabled the Admiral to

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 398.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

sail up the stream in perfect safety, without encountering any of those obstacles and perils that (in popular apprehension at least) attended its navigation. It was not till the 27th of June, however, that the army was landed on the Isle of Orleans, in front of Quebec. On the very next night the enemy made an attempt to destroy our armament, by sending out from Quebec seven fire-ships. These came burning down the river, assisted by a strong current, and aimed directly upon our fleet; but our Admiral, in expectation of some such design, had made preparations to defeat it. All his boats were out, well manned, and well armed, with an officer in each. The fire-ships, on approaching, were instantly boarded; grapplings and chains were affixed to them, after which they were towed, clear of every ship, to shore on the Isle of Orleans, where they burnt to ashes without having done the least damage.

The Isle of Orleans, on which the army had landed, is about twenty miles long and seven broad, highly cultivated, and affording to the soldiers every kind of refreshment after their long and weary navigation.* Wolfe, however, left them little leisure for repose. On the 29th he despatched

* "Lorsque Jacques Cartier découvrit cette isle (d'Orléans) "il la trouva toute remplie de vignes, et la nomma *l'Isle de* "*Bacchus*. Ce navigateur était Breton. Après lui sont venus "des Normands, qui ont arraché les vignes, et à Bacchus ont "substitué Pomone et Céres." (Charlevoix, Nouvelle France, vol. iii. p. 69.)

Brigadier Monckton, with four battalions, across to the right bank of the river, that they might take possession of Point Levis, a headland which looks towards Quebec, and where the enemy had constructed a battery. This object was soon attained, after only two or three slight skirmishes between the advanced parties and the enemy's irregular force. Wolfe himself marched with his main body along the island to its westernmost point, —from whence rose, full to view, the harbour and city of Quebec,—a sight at once tempting and discouraging. "For no place," says Burke, "seems "possessed of greater benefits of Nature, nor is "there any of which Nature seems more to have "consulted the defence."* In "Wolfe's own words, "there is the strongest country, perhaps, "in the world, to rest the defence of the town and "colony upon."†

The city of Quebec is built upon and beneath a ridge of rocks that terminates as a promontory at the spot where the river St. Charles flows from the left bank into the St. Lawrence. This is also the point where the St. Lawrence first in its upward navigation appears to narrow; for while in the previous course of above 100 leagues from its mouth it is nowhere less than from four to five leagues broad,—while it is divided by the Isle of Orleans into two, both considerable streams,—it

* Annual Register, 1759, p. 36.

† To Lord Holderness, Sept. 9. 1759. Printed in the Chatham Correspondence.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

suddenly contracts above that Isle, and above the inlet of the St. Charles, so that opposite Quebec it is scarcely one mile over. Hence the name of Quebec has been derived from a word of similar sound, and denoting a strait, in one of the Indian tongues; while other writers deem it of French extraction, and perhaps only a corruption of the Norman Caudebec.* At this period the town (divided into the Upper and Lower) might contain 7,000 souls; it held a Cathedral, a Bishop's Palace, and other stately buildings; and was crowned by the castle of St. Louis. In front of the harbour there spreads a considerable sandbank, so as to prevent the close approach or attack of any hostile fleet. Beyond the city, the rugged ridges on which it is built continue steep and precipitous for many miles along the river, and are there called the Heights of Abraham. In the opposite direction, again, from the mouth of the St. Charles down the left bank of the St. Lawrence, the ground is scarcely less difficult and rugged during several miles, until nearly opposite the point of the Isle of Orleans, where the stream of Montmorency, after flowing through the upper country, descends into the St. Lawrence by a fall of 300 feet.

To defend this strong country the Marquis de Montcalm had lately solicited and received fresh reinforcements from home. More than twenty ships, laden with supplies and recruits, had sailed before

* Colonial Library, by R. M. Martin, Esq., vol. i. p. 80.

the blockade of the French ports, and entered the St. Lawrence before the arrival of the English armament. Montcalm had, however, few regular soldiers, but many Canadians and Indians, in all about 10,000,—"a numerous body of armed "men," says Wolfe, "for I cannot call it an "army!—If the Marquis," he adds, "had shut "himself up in the town of Quebec it would have "been long since in our possession, because the "defences are inconsiderable, and our artillery "very formidable."* But the skilful and wary Frenchman had resolved to trust to the strength of the country rather than of the ramparts. He drew up his army on what was supposed the only accessible side of Quebec, on the line called Beauport, between the St. Charles and the Montmorency, communicating with Quebec by a bridge of boats over the St. Charles, and this ground, steep as it was by nature, he further entrenched at every open spot. On his front were the river and its sand-banks; on his rear impenetrable woods. Thus posted he was able, without running any risk or hazard, to prevent either an investment of the city or a battle upon equal terms.

The first measure of Wolfe,—such being the state of things,—was to raise batteries at the points both of Levis and of the Isle of Orleans. From hence his artillery began to play upon Quebec,—to

* To Lord Holderness, September 9. 1759. Chatham Correspondence. See also in the Annual Register (p. 241.) his letter to Mr. Pitt of September 2.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

the damage of the Upper town,—to the destruction of the Lower,—but without any tendency or progress towards the reduction of the place. Montcalm remained entirely on the defensive, except on one occasion, when he sent 1,600 men across the St. Lawrence to attack the English batteries on Point Levis. "Bad intelligence, no doubt, of our "strength," writes Wolfe, "induced him to this "measure; however, the detachment judged better "than their general, and retired."—Some works for the security of the British hospitals and stores were meanwhile constructing on the Isle of Orleans; after which, in the night of July the 9th, Wolfe caused his troops to be transported to the left bank, and encamped opposite the enemy, the river Montmorency flowing between them.—During this time the enemy made repeated attempts against our ships by fire-rafts and other combustibles, but their designs were constantly baffled by the skill and vigilance of Saunders. A squadron was also despatched under Admiral Holmes, to pass by Quebec, and fix its station further up the St. Lawrence, so that the river might be blockaded both above and below the town.

The great object of the English general was now to entice or decoy the enemy from their strong camp to an engagement. Not only did he endeavour to alarm them for Quebec on the opposite side, by means of Holmes's squadron, but he repeatedly sent detachments along the Montmorency to make a feint of passing that river further from

the falls. But no stratagem sufficed to draw the French commander from his advantageous post. Wolfe had also the mortification of seeing no effect from a Manifesto which he had issued at his first landing, to assure the Canadians of protection in their persons, property, and religion, provided they remained quiet, and took no part in the war. "Now, "on the contrary," as he states himself, "we have "continual skirmishes; old people, seventy years "of age, and boys of fifteen, fire at our detach- "ments, and kill or wound our men, from the edges "of the woods."* Incensed at such conduct, the General adopted, or at least connived at, a cruel retaliation. All the detached houses, the barns, the stables,—nay, even the standing corn,—were devoted to utter destruction, and thus both banks of the river began immediately to display a most dismal aspect of fire and smoke. Still, however, Montcalm, wisely intent on final triumph, remained immoveable. 1759.

Nothing, therefore, remained for Wolfe but to attack the French in their entrenchments. The day he fixed for this hazardous attempt was the 31st of July; the place he selected was the mouth of the Montmorency, as the only quarter where his artillery could be brought into play, and from whence his retreat, in case of a repulse, could be secure. Accordingly the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and rowed towards the shore

* To Lord Holderness, September 9. 1759.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

at the proper time of tide. As they drew near many of the boats grounded upon a ledge of rocks; an accident that caused some disorder and great delay. On their reaching land the grenadiers had been directed to form themselves upon the beach, and to halt until other troops on their right had passed the Montmorency ford, and were ready to assist them. But, whether from the noise and hurry of their landing, or from their own ill-regulated ardour, they rushed at once and impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments. The enemy, from the summit of the heights, received them with a galling fire, which threw them presently into confusion, and obliged them to seek shelter behind a deserted redoubt. In this situation,—unable to rally under so severe a fire,—while the night drew on,—while a tempest was gathering,—while the tide began to make,—the general saw no other resource than to order a retreat. This retreat he conducted with skill, everywhere exposing his person with characteristic intrepidity. "The French," he says, "did not attempt to interrupt our march. "Some of their savages came down to murder "such wounded as could not be brought away, "and to scalp the dead, as their custom is."

In this check the troops had sustained no inconsiderable loss, and, what was worse, had become downcast and dispirited. There seemed no longer any hope of forcing the French lines. The prospect of co-operation from Amherst or from Johnson, on which they had confidently reckoned, grew daily

fainter and fainter. They learned, indeed, from some prisoners, that Niagara had been taken,—that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned,—but week after week passed on,—the season wasted apace,—and no auxiliaries appeared. Wolfe himself,—fatigue and anxiety preying on his delicate frame,—fell violently ill of a fever.—No sooner was his health in some degree restored, than he proceeded with the Admiral and the Chief Engineer to inspect, as closely as they could, the works of Quebec, with a view to a general assault; but there seemed to them no hope of success from such an enterprise. Wolfe had also summoned to council his second and third in command,—Brigadiers Monckton and George Townshend, the brother of Charles. It was their unanimous opinion, that no other chance remained than to carry the troops above the town, and thus again endeavour to draw Montcalm from his inaccessible post. In pursuance of this determination the camp at Montmorency was broken up, and the army moved across the river to Point Levis. From thence,—again going on board their transports,—they passed Quebec, and proceeded several miles up the St. Lawrence, when they once more disembarked on its right bank. So much had their ranks been thinned by death or by disease, that, after providing for the necessary defence of the Isle of Orleans and of Point Levis, there remained scarcely more than 3,600 effective men for action. To conceal in some degree their scanty numbers, and to spread doubts and alarms

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

among the enemy, Admiral Holmes's squadron was directed to make movements up the river for several successive days, as if threatening more than one point above the town. The Marquis de Montcalm was not, however, induced to quit his lines; he merely despatched M. de Bougainville, with about 1,500 men, to watch the motions of the English army, and to keep alongside with it on the opposite shore.

It was under such circumstances, and on the 9th of September, that Wolfe addressed his last letter to the Secretary of State. His own view of his prospects was most gloomy; he writes as if anxious to prepare the public mind in England for his failure or retreat, and as if his main motive for still remaining were to keep the French army in play, and divert it from other quarters.* Here are his own concluding words:—"I am so far reco-
" vered as to do business, but my constitution is
" entirely ruined, without the consolation of having
" done any considerable service to the state, or
" without any prospect of it."—Let him who reads these words, and their event, learn from them never to lose hope of success in an honourable cause.

* His previous despatch of Sept. 2. ends as follows: "Happy
" if our efforts here can contribute to the success of His
" Majesty's arms in other parts of America!"—(Ann. Reg. 1759, p. 246.) Thus also Admiral Saunders writes on the 5th of September: "Let the event be what it will, we shall
" remain here as long as the season of the year will permit,
" in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against
" General Amherst." (Entick's History, vol. iv. p. 112.)

The aid of Providence, as it should never be presumed on, so it should never be despaired of. Within five days from the date of that letter the name of WOLFE had become immortal to all ages!

It does not seem certain at what period or by what accident the English General first conceived the daring thought to land his troops beneath the heights of Abraham, on some point less guarded than the rest. But the honour of that first thought belongs to Wolfe alone; and, once conceived, it was no less ably and boldly pursued. * The ships under Admiral Saunders were directed to make a feint opposite the French camp at Beauport, as if another attack upon it were designed. A similar demonstration on the opposite side,—three leagues higher up the St. Lawrence,—was enjoined to Admiral Holmes. At or near his own station Wolfe collected as many boats as he could without raising suspicion and alarm. All preparations being completed, he suddenly gave orders for the troops to embark about one o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September, favoured by a dark night and by a flowing tide. There was only room on board for about half his army, and the remainder was left for a second embarkation. The point to which he steered was a small bay or inlet, less than two miles above Quebec. It has ever since borne the name of "Wolfe's Cove." Swiftly, but silently, did the boats fall down with the tide, unobserved by the enemy's sentinels, who were,—or who should have been,—at their posts along the shore.—Of the sol-

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

diers on board, how eagerly must every heart have throbbed at the coming conflict; how intently must every eye have contemplated the dark outline, as it lay pencilled upon the midnight sky,—and as every moment it grew closer and clearer,—of the hostile heights! Not a word was spoken, not a sound was heard beyond the rippling of the stream. Wolfe alone,—thus tradition has told us,—repeated in a low voice to the other officers in his boat those beautiful stanzas with which a Country Church Yard inspired the muse of Gray. One noble line, —"The paths of Glory lead but to the Grave,"— must have seemed at such a moment fraught with mournful meaning. At the close of the recitation Wolfe added: "Now, Gentlemen, I would rather "be the author of that poem than take Quebec!"*

On reaching the northern bank at the spot designed,—and Wolfe was amongst the first to leap on shore,—the troops found themselves at the foot of a high and precipitous cliff, leading up to an extensive table-land,—the Heights of Abraham. Close upon the brow of the hill was the post of a French captain, with 150 men. There was but a single path upwards, scarcely to be discovered in the darkness, and so narrow that in some places no

* Related by Professor Robison of Edinburgh, who in his youth had been a midshipman, and was in the boat with Wolfe. See Grahame's History of the United States, vol. iv. p. 51. But Mr. Grahame is mistaken, in saying of the Elegy, that it was just published in London. It had appeared in 1750. (Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. ii. p. 439. ed. 1821.)

two could go abreast. But the ardour of Wolfe and of his men was not to be repressed. The vanguard, led by Colonel Howe, a brother of the nobleman who fell at Ticonderoga, began to scale the precipice,—each man scrambling and climbing as he best could,—but mostly pulling themselves up by the bushes and brambles, by the stumps of trees, or the projecting points of rock. The enemy's picquet, roused at length, but too late, heard the rustling from below, and fired down the precipice at random, as our men did up into the air. But, immediately after this chance-volley, the French, struck with panic at the strangeness of the attempt, and the sudden appearance of foes, whom they had supposed on the other side of the river, fled from their post, notwithstanding all the exertions of their officer. Our vanguard reached the summit in safety, and at once formed itself in line. Fresh detachments from below were now continually ascending, and a single piece of artillery was also by main force dragged up. Meanwhile the boats had gone back for the second embarkation under Brigadier Townshend, and thus at daybreak the whole British army stood in order of battle upon the heights.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

When the Marquis de Montcalm was first informed that the English army appeared on the heights of Abraham, he thought the rumour only another feint to draw him from his lines; but, on riding forward, his own eyes convinced him of his error. Still, however, he was confident of a victory

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

over his assailants. "I see them," he said, "where "they ought not to be; but if we must fight I "shall crush them."* Without further delay, he hurried over the St. Charles by the bridge of boats, with as many of his troops as he could muster for action on so sudden an emergency. He found the English already advancing, and formed on the high ground at the back of Quebec. They had no cavalry, and only one gun, but were full of hope and ardour. Their left wing had been drawn out by Wolfe in the manner which military men call EN POTENCE; that is, a body with two faces to the enemy, so as to guard against its being outflanked. Amongst the troops in this quarter was a Highland regiment,—one of Pitt's recent creation,—and already conspicuous for its bravery and conduct; several of its men had been in Howe's vanguard, and thus the first to scale the precipice. On the right were the Louisburg grenadiers, extending towards the St. Lawrence, and with a regiment behind them as a reserve. It was in the front of this right wing, where the hottest fire was expected, that Wolfe had fixed his own station. The dispositions of Montcalm on his part were equally judicious. He had skilfully intermingled his regular and Canadian regiments, so as to strengthen and support the latter, while the greater part of his Indians were to spread themselves beyond the English left, and

* "Je les vois où ils ne doivent pas être . . . . S'il faut "donc combattre je vais les écraser." (Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 386.)

endeavour to outflank it. The thickets and copses in his front he filled with 1,500 of his best marksmen, who kept up an irregular but galling fire. By these skirmishers the advanced picquets of the English were driven in with something of confusion, but Wolfe hastened to ride along the line, encouraging the men to stand firm, telling them that the light infantry had only obeyed his instructions, and, above all, enjoining them to reserve their fire until the enemy should come within forty yards of the muzzles of their guns. Thus our troops remained immoveable, while the French were coming on, and firing as they came. Many of our men were struck; Wolfe himself received a ball in his wrist, but he tied his handkerchief about the wound, and never swerved from his post. Immoveable the troops remained until they saw the enemy within forty yards,—then, indeed, a well-aimed and simultaneous volley was poured from the whole British line. No sooner had the smoke cleared away than the great effect of this close discharge became apparent; numbers of the enemy were lying on the ground; some few had fled; the greater part wavered. At this decisive moment Wolfe darted forward, and cheered on his grenadiers to a charge. Just then a second ball struck him in the groin, but he dissembled his anguish, and continued to give his orders as before. A third shot, however, piercing his breast, he fell to the ground, and was carried to the rear. At nearly the same time, in another part of the field, Brigadier

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

Monckton was severely wounded, and thus the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who took all proper measures to complete the victory, and to pursue the vanquished.

At the rear, to which he had been conveyed, Wolfe, meanwhile, lay expiring. From time to time he lifted his head to gaze on the field of battle, till he found his eye-sight begin to fail. Then for some moments he lay motionless with no other sign of life than heavy breathing or a stifled groan. All at once an officer who stood by exclaimed, "See how they run!"—"Who run?"—cried Wolfe, eagerly raising himself on his elbow. "The "enemy," answered the officer; "they give way "in all directions."—"Then God be praised!" said Wolfe, after a short pause; "I shall die "happy."—These were his last words; he again fell back, and turning on his side, as if by a sharp convulsion, expired. He was but thirty-three years of age, when thus,—the Nelson of the army!—he died amidst the tidings of the victory he had achieved.

On the side of the French, as of the English, in this battle, both the first and the second in command fell dangerously wounded. The Marquis de Montcalm was struck by a musket-ball while gallantly endeavouring to rally his men. He was carried back into the city, where he expired next day. When told that his end was approaching, he answered, in a spirit worthy the antagonist of Wolfe, "So much the better; I shall not live then to see

"the surrender of Quebec." The loss of the French, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, had been 1,500; our own, 640. On the 18th of September, the fifth day from the battle, the capitulation of the city was signed. The garrison marched out with all the honours of war, to be conveyed to the nearest port of France. The English army remained in Quebec, as the garrison of their new conquest, but the English fleet returned home.

In England, Wolfe's letter of the 2d September, announcing his dismal prospects, and seeming to prepare the nation for a reverse or a retreat, had been made public. Only three days afterwards came the news of the battle and conquest of Quebec. Thus the previous gloom served only to heighten the exultation and the glory,—blended, however, with deep sympathy and sorrow for the young hero's fall. "Joy, grief, curiosity, astonish-"ment," says an eye-witness, "were painted in "every countenance; the more they inquired the "higher their admiration rose."* The mourning for Wolfe was worn by all classes,—rich and poor, —high and low.† When his remains arrived at Portsmouth they were landed amidst the highest honours; minute guns were fired; the flags waved half-mast high; and an escort, with arms reversed, stood ready to receive the coffin on shore. It was then conveyed to the parish church of Greenwich,

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 384.

† Gleig's British Commanders, vol. ii. p. 359.

CHAP. XXXV. 1759.

and laid by the side of his father, who had died only a few months before. A widowed mother still remained to mourn over their only child.

By the House of Commons, a monument in Westminster Abbey, and at the public charge, was unanimously voted to Wolfe, on the motion of Pitt. His speech on this occasion, unlike most of his speeches, was premeditated, and, unlike them, also, was wanting in animation and power; but the enthusiasm of his hearers supplied every deficiency.—More recently, on the other side of the Atlantic, a small column has been raised to mark the very spot where Wolfe received his death-wound. But the noblest monument to his memory is one that blends his fame with the fame of his gallant enemy,—far different, indeed, as to success, but alike both in courage and in doom. Amidst the Government gardens of Quebec there now stands an obelisk sixty feet in height;—its front looking to the land-side, along which the French General moved, bears inscribed the word MONTCALM;—its south front, towards which the English General advanced, bears the word WOLFE.* This joint tribute to departed worth was planned by the generous mind—as the first stone was laid by the hand—of another gallant soldier,—DALHOUSIE.

* Travels in Canada by J. S. Buckingham, Esq., p. 233.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1759.

In the debate upon the monument to Wolfe, Pitt had paid some well-earned compliments to Admiral Saunders,—a man, he said, equalling those who have beaten Armadas,—"May I anticipate?" added he,—"those who will beat Armadas!"*—These words proved prophetic, and were fulfilled almost immediately after they were uttered. On that same day, the 20th of November, we achieved a great victory at sea.

During the whole summer the Brest fleet had been closely blockaded by Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, while some frigates under Captain Duff cruised along the coast to the southward, from the port of Orient to the sands of Olonne. But when the autumnal gales set in Sir Edward Hawke was driven from the coast of France to that of England, and the French Admiral at Brest, M. de Conflans, seized the opportunity to sail forth with his fleet,—twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. His

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 393.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

design was to attack and overpower the squadron of Duff before the larger fleet could return to its assistance; but Hawke, with an energy that appeared as though it could control the winds and the waves, and which in truth could profit by the slightest variations in either, was already steering back to his post, and succeeded in joining Duff's squadron off the point of Quiberon before Conflans could attack it. With the addition of Duff's force the English Admiral was an overmatch for the French; he was superior by two ships of the line and six frigates, and (according to the not unapt, though quibbling, illustration of a contemporary writer,) he descried the enemy "fluttering at his appearance "as a bird at the sight of a HAWK."* Conflans no longer ventured to seek, nor even to await, an engagement in the open sea. He drew his ships close in shore towards the mouth of the Vilaine,—a coast guarded by granite rocks and islets above,—by shoals and quicksands below. On this very coast the earliest British fleet on record had perished.† Had Sir Edward Hawke desired to retire without striking a blow, he would not have wanted strong arguments to justify his conduct; and no doubt, had there still been a Prime Minister like Newcastle, there would have been no lack of Admirals like

* Entick's History, vol. iv. p. 263.

† Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. iii. ch. 9. and 15. This was in Cæsar's war against the Veneti, or people of Vannes. And he adds: "Auxilia a Britanniâ, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, "arcessunt."

Byng. But it is the peculiar glory of Pitt,—and a praise which all parties have concurred in awarding him,—that he could impress his own energy on every branch of the public service; that under his direction our chiefs, both by land and sea, viewed obstacles and dangers as he did,—only as a spur to exertion, and as an enhancement of fame!—Neither the terrors of an unknown coast, nor those of a wintry storm (for it was now the 20th of November, and the sea was rolling high), could divert the settled purpose of Hawke. He gave the signal for immediate action,—passing by the rest of the enemy's fleet with his own ship, the Royal George, and reserving his fire for the Soleil Royal, which bore M. de Conflans, and was at this time the largest vessel in the French navy. In vain did his pilot represent to him the peril of such a navigation. Sir Edward answered, "You have done your duty "in this remonstrance; you are now to obey my "orders, and lay me alongside the French Admi- "ral!" An action commenced in such a spirit could scarcely fail of triumphant success. Before night two French ships had struck; four others, amongst which was the Soleil Royal, had been sunk; the rest, more or less damaged, sought safety by running up the Vilaine. During the whole ensuing night Hawke heard guns of distress, but could not tell whether of friend or foe, nor yet offer any assistance. In the morning it was found, that, besides the French ships stranded, two of ours,—the Resolution and the Essex,—were lost, having

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

become entangled in the shoals, but all their men and part of their stores were saved. The number of our killed had been but forty,—of our wounded but 200. Such was the entire loss attending this important victory, won in the midst of storm and tempest, which ended all thoughts of the threatened invasion, and gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France during the whole remainder of the war. The thanks of Parliament were voted to the gallant Admiral; a pension of 1,500*l.* a year for his own life and his son's was conferred by the King *, and in the ensuing reign he was raised to the peerage.

It well deserves commemoration, that Admiral Saunders, who had just returned from North America, immediately, and without waiting for orders, sailed from Plymouth to join Hawke, and take part in the expected action, but arrived too late.

Before Dunkirk, as before Brest, our blockading squadron had been driven homewards by the violence of the eastern gales, and Thurot had been enabled to make his escape from the first as Conflans from the latter; but his force was no more than five ships, and he could only in the first instance seek shelter along the coasts of Sweden and Norway.

This year, so fraught with glory to England, was not auspicious to our ally the King of Prussia.—During the spring and early summer he had remained entirely on the defensive, content with

* Ann. Reg. 1759. p. 131.

maintaining against the Austrians the borders of Saxony and Silesia. But, a formidable Russian army, commanded by General Soltikow, was now again advancing to the Oder, and the Austrians were, moreover, sending it a large auxiliary force under Laudohn. It was Frederick's object to prevent, if possible, this junction. He despatched General Wedel with some good troops, and with positive orders to risk an engagement. Wedel accordingly attacked the Russians on the 23d of July, but was worsted, with heavy loss, and the enemy's junction was completed. Frederick now resolved to march against the Russians in person. He found them still on the right bank of the Oder, close to the city of Frankfort, and encamped at the village of Kunersdorf; it was nearly the same district where he had defeated them the year before. His force was now 48,000 men; their's, including Laudohn's, above 60,000. On the 12th of August, a day of nearly tropical heat, the King led on his troops at mid-day to the charge. Long and bloody was the fight. Before six in the evening, however, the Russians had been driven from their lines, with the loss of several thousand prisoners and nearly 200 pieces of cannon. The victory seemed decided, and Frederick despatched a courier with the joyful tidings to Berlin. Had the Prussians been satisfied with these advantages, there seems no doubt that the enemy would have forthwith retreated towards their own dominions, as they had last year after the battle of Zorndorf; but the King was eager,

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

not merely to defeat, but to destroy these barbarous invaders. Wearied as were his troops, and contrary to the advice of Seydlitz and his other best officers, he commanded another attack. By this time the Russians had taken post on some rising ground,—the cemetery of the Jews of Frankfort. Several times were the Prussians led up by their monarch in person to assail this strong position, but always in vain. At length their exhaustion from a long previous march,—from so many hours of conflict,—from the burning heat of that summer day,—could no longer be controlled, and Laudohn, watching the moment, poured in upon them with a body of yet fresh Austrian cavalry. The effect was decisive. A defeat ensued, the most complete that Frederick had yet sustained, or, perhaps, yet inflicted. A full half of the Prussian army were killed, wounded, or taken. Frederick himself had been urged to quit the field before the rout became universal, but answered, "I have a duty "to perform as well as you."—Two horses were killed under him, and a gold case which he carried in his pocket was crushed by a musket-ball. In the retreat he was nearly surrounded and made prisoner, and only saved by the intrepidity of one of his officers, Captain Prittnitz, who threw himself forward with an hundred hussars, and effected a few moments diversion. It was many miles from the field of battle, at the village of Otscher, that the King first found some moments of respite or repose. There, in a hut which had been plundered and

half ruined by some roving Cossacks, he flung himself down upon a heap of straw. Of the 48,000 men whom he had led to conflict in the morning scarcely 3,000 then remained beneath his banner. Berlin seemed open to the enemy, and no hope beyond it. Besides the Russians, no doubt that Austrians, Poles, Swedes, and Saxons,—every tribe,—would be ready to rush in upon the fallen lion. During these dismal hours the thoughts of Frederick reverted to the phial of poison which he still bore concealed in his clothes, and he appears to have determined upon suicide, as his sole refuge from an ignominious submission. To Count Finkenstein, his principal Minister at Berlin, he wrote a brief account of his overthrow, and added: "The "results of this disaster will be even worse than "the disaster itself. I have no resource left, and, "to tell you the truth, I look upon every thing as "lost. But I shall not survive the ruin of my "country. Farewell for ever. FEDERIC."*—In like manner, and in the same night, he drew out instructions for General Finck, on whom the chief command of the army would after his own death devolve. After directing that an oath of allegiance should be taken to his nephew, and that his brother, Prince Henry, should be obeyed as Regent, he

* It was the King's constant habit,—from what reason or fancy I know not,—to sign in French, as *Féderic*, instead of *Fréderic*. See, for instance, in the first volume of the Chatham Correspondence, a fac-simile of his letter to Pitt, dated January 5. 1759.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

points out some faint prospect of defeating Laudohn should he advance singly, and with too much ardour, towards Berlin. "Such," he says in conclusion, "is the only advice which, under such unhappy "circumstances, I find myself able to give. Had "I any resources left I should have remained at "my post."*

Even the man most determined on self-destruction from his misfortunes will hesitate,—so long as these misfortunes leave him any respite,—before he swallows the dose or draws the trigger. Frederick paused in his resolve until he should see the enemy advancing. To his surprise he found them neglect their auspicious opportunity. With the Russians, as with all other yet semi-barbarous tribes, the first days after a successful battle were devoted, not to reaping its fruits, but to feasting and carousing. Their loss in the action, moreover, had been most severe; not short, it is probable, of 20,000 men. "If I gain another such "victory," said Soltikow, "I shall have to carry "the news of it myself, alone, and staff in hand, to "Petersburg."† But a still more essential cause of inactivity was the jealousy which now prevailed between Soltikow and Daun. The Russian General complained, that whilst he had been winning two battles the Austrian had done

* Both these remarkable documents,—the first in the original French, and the second translated from the German,—will be found in my Appendix.

† Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 216.

nothing towards the common cause. "It is now "for my colleague to bestir himself," cried he; "for my part, I have performed enough."* Thus the Russians made no forward movement; and Frederick, gathering fresh hope from the delay, rallied his defeated troops, and called in some new regiments from his garrisons, some new artillery from his arsenals, so that in a few days he was again at the head of 30,000 well-appointed men. In the result, as winter approached, the Russians slowly withdrew towards their own territory, and Laudohn, separating from them, marched back into Moravia. 1759.

Freed from these enemies, the King hastened to Saxony. His absence from that quarter had already lost him the great city of Dresden; nor did affairs proceed much more prosperously after his return. One of his generals was surprised and defeated in crossing the Elbe near Meissen; another General, Finck,—the same to whom Frederick had bequeathed the chief command after the battle of Kunersdorf, and who was now at the head of 12,000 men in a separate division,—chose his position at Maxen with so little skill that he was surrounded and compelled to lay down his arms. No event in Frederick's whole career seems to have more deeply wounded his pride. During the whole remainder of his reign he continued to show marked disfavour to every officer who had

* Archenholtz, vol. i. p. 269.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

been, — however innocently, — present with the capitulating army. Thus, for instance, when one of them, long afterwards, grown a veteran, and destitute in his unfriended old age, sent in an humble petition for a pension, the King, with a bitter sneer, wrote upon the margin: "Assign "him a pension by all means! Assign it on the "profits of Maxen!"*

Yet, notwithstanding the manifold reverses sustained by Frederick during this campaign, his position, at its close, did not seem greatly worse than at its commencement. With the exception of Dresden, there was no loss either of town or territory. But the ranks of his veterans had been frightfully thinned by privation or the sword, and could only be recruited from peasants or deserters. So low were his resources that he merely maintained his troops by debasing the Prussian coin, and mingling a large alloy with the gold of the English subsidy. Still, however, undaunted in spirit, the King fixed his winter-quarters at Freyberg in Saxony, rapidly and ably exchanging the fatigues of warfare for his scarcely inferior toils and anxieties of state.

In this campaign Prince Ferdinand was equally able and more fortunate. Besides the Hanoverians and Hessians in British pay he had under his direction 10,000 or 12,000 British soldiers, amongst whom, since the death of the Duke of Marlborough,

* See a note (4) to Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 226.

Lord George Sackville was the senior officer. The French, on their part, were making great exertions, under the new administration of the Duke de Choiseul; large reinforcements were sent into Germany, and early in the year they surprised by stratagem the free city of Frankfort, and made it the place of arms for their southern army. No object could be of greater moment to Ferdinand than to dislodge them from this important post. Leaving behind him in their quarters his British and Hanoverians to the number of 25,000, to observe the Mareschal de Contades upon the Lippe, he marched away secretly and rapidly with his remaining force of 30,000 men. He found the second French army, 35,000 strong, commanded by the Duke de Broglie, and encamped at Bergen on the Nidda, in front of Frankfort. In this position they were attacked by Ferdinand on the 13th of April. Three times in three hours was the village of Bergen taken and retaken. Great courage and great skill were displayed on both sides, till, at length, a well-concerted manœuvre of De Broglie turned the flank of the Hanoverians, and decided the battle. Prince Ferdinand was compelled to retreat, with a loss of 2,000 men and five pieces of artillery.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

This reverse would, it was supposed, reduce Prince Ferdinand to the defensive during the remainder of the campaign. Both De Broglie and Contades eagerly pushed forward, their opponents giving way before them. Combining their forces, they reduced Cassel, Munster, and Minden, and

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

they felt assured that the whole Electorate must soon again be theirs. Already had the archives and the most valuable property been sent off from Hanover to Stade. Already did a new Hastenbeck,—a new Closter-Seven,—rise in view. But it was under such difficulties that the genius of Ferdinand shone forth. With a far inferior army (for thus much is acknowledged, although I do not find the French numbers clearly or precisely stated), he still maintained his ground on the left of the Weser, and supplied every defect by his superiority of tactics. He left a detachment of 5,000 men exposed, and seemingly unguarded, as a bait to lure De Contades from his strong position at Minden. The French Mareschal was deceived by the feint, and directed the Duke de Broglie to march forward, and profit by the blunder, as he deemed it to be. On the 1st of August, accordingly, De Broglie advanced into the plain, his force divided in eight columns; but on reaching a small eminence which lay along his front, near Minden, he was struck with surprise on beholding, not the single detachment he expected, but the whole army of the allies, which had marched in the night, and was now ranged in excellent order. He was compelled to call De Contades to his aid; retreat seemed no longer safe or easy, and thus the two French Generals were drawn in to accept a battle on unfavourable ground, hemmed in between a river and a morass, and reduced to place their infantry on the wings,—their cavalry in the centre. It was

nearly the same distribution which half a century before had lost them the battle of Blenheim.* In another respect, perhaps, a resemblance might be traced to Waterloo; for the French cavalry made repeated and furious onsets against the English and Hanoverian infantry which lay before them at Prince Ferdinand's centre, but this foot, forming itself into compact bodies, stood all the charges with the utmost steadiness and resolution, until at length, the enemy's horse being thoroughly discomfited and discouraged, their entire line gave way, and their generals issued the signal for retreat. At this decisive moment the Prince sent his orders to Lord George Sackville, who commanded the whole English and some German cavalry on the right wing of the Allies, and who had hitherto been kept back as a reserve. The orders were to charge and overwhelm the French in their retreat before they could reach any clear ground to rally. Had these orders been duly fulfilled it is acknowledged by French writers that their army must have been utterly destroyed†; but Lord George either could not or would not understand what was enjoined him. In vain did the Prince send him in succession one German and two English aides-de-camp, with reiterated directions; Lord George exclaimed that surely His Highness could

* Coxe's Life of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 394. ed. 1820.

† "L'armée de Contades devait être anéantie; hommes, "chevaux, canons, drapeaux, tout serait tombé aux mains de "l'ennemi." (Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 197.)

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

not intend to break the line, and that he must ride off and speak to the Prince himself. Meanwhile, Ferdinand, losing patience, sent orders to the Marquis of Granby, who commanded the second line, and Lord Granby advanced with great alacrity; but above half an hour had been wasted, and the opportunity was lost.

Under such circumstances the victory of Minden would not have been signal or complete but for a previous and most high-spirited precaution of Prince Ferdinand. He had sent round to the rear of the French a body of 10,000 men, under his nephew,—and also the King of Prussia's—the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had already distinguished himself on several occasions during the late campaigns. On this day the young Prince succeeded in routing the Duke de Brissac, an officer commissioned to secure the enemy's communication with Hervorden. Thus Ferdinand became master of the passes, and the French were constrained to continue their retreat in disorder. Upon the whole, their loss was 8,000 men killed, wounded, or taken, thirty pieces of artillery, and seventeen standards. "And the most surprising "thing," adds a French account, "of this day's "action was Prince Ferdinand's judgment and "boldness in sending out a detachment of 10,000 "men the moment he was going to engage a "superior army."* Contades and De Broglie

* This account is cited by Entick. (Hist., vol. iv. p. 15.)—See also Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 26.

endeavoured to excuse themselves at the Court of Versailles by recriminating upon each other; but far different was the reception given to their complaints; the first officer was recalled,—the latter made a Field Marshal! Meanwhile the French troops were rapidly driven from their recent conquests; Cassel, Munster, and Marburg yielded in succession to the allied arms. Ferdinand could not, indeed, carry his successes so far as he desired, being under the necessity, after the disaster at Maxen, of despatching the Hereditary Prince to the King of Prussia's aid; yet still he compelled the French to end the campaign nearly where they had begun it, and to take up their winter-quarters around the city of Frankfort. 1759.

Great was the rejoicing in England at the victory of Minden. Prince Ferdinand received from King George the Garter, a gift of 20,000*l.* (which His Majesty afterwards charged to the House of Commons), and a pension of 2,000*l.* yearly. To the Hereditary Prince the King of Prussia showed his gratitude by a cheaper expedient; he wrote him an Ode! *

> " Regardez-le, ma soeur, l'amour vous y convie,
> " Dans vos flancs vertueux ce heros prit la vie
> " Et ses rares talens;
> " Votre belle ame en lui retraça son image;
> " De son auguste père il a tout le courage
> " Et les grands sentimens!

Of such stanzas there are thirty-two more. (Œuvres Posthumes, vol. xiv. p. 233—241. ed. 1789.)

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

But loud and fierce was the outcry, both in Germany and at home, against the leader of the English cavalry. Lord George Sackville, born in 1716, was son of the first and father of the last Duke of Dorset. Of an active and aspiring turn of mind, he had served on several foreign expeditions, without disparagement, at least, if not with distinction; he had been Secretary for Ireland during his father's Vice-Royalty; he had taken on many occasions a forward and able part in debate. "Lord George's fall is prodigious," says a contemporary, writing after the day of Minden. "Nobody stood higher; nobody has more ambition "or more sense."* On the evening of that day so fatal to his reputation Lord George did not scruple to mix with the general officers at Prince Ferdinand's table;—an appearance which, some may think, required full as much intrepidity as to have led his cavalry to the charge. The Prince expressed his surprise to the officers nearest him, but made no public observation at that time. Next day, however, came forth General Orders from His Highness, thanking the troops, and many officers by name, for their conduct in the battle. Lord George's name was not mentioned; an omission in itself sufficiently significant, but he was moreover glanced at in two passages, and in a manner not to be misunderstood. "His Serene "Highness orders it to be declared to Lieutenant

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 29. 1759.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

"General the Marquis of Granby that he is persuaded that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant." . . . . . "And His Serene Highness desires and orders the generals of the army that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aides-de-camp they be obeyed punctually, and without delay."* I am bound in fairness to add that the Prince had been previously offended with Lord George, for his froward and repining temper, and was therefore by no means inclined to soften any charge that might be justly urged against him.†

Lord George, stung to the quick by this public rebuke, and still more, perhaps, by the general feeling in the army to his disfavour,—wrote home for leave to resign his command, and to return. Both these requests were most readily granted. On arriving in England early in September he found himself received by the nation with scarcely less abhorrence or less clamour than Byng. The favour of Lord Bute, and through Lord Bute of the Heir Apparent, were of little avail. He wrote

* See these General Orders at length in the Annual Register, 1759, p. 233.

† "Lord George never had the art of conciliating affection. "He had thwarted Prince Ferdinand and disgusted him in "the previous campaign." (Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 362.)

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

again to the Secretary of State, soliciting a Court Martial. This was promised him, but, on account of the absence of the officers required as witnesses, was postponed until after the close of the campaign. Meanwhile, Pitt declared that he was not satisfied with Lord George's explanations or those of his aide-de-camp*, and Lord George was at once dismissed from all his employments,—the command of a regiment, a post in the Ordnance, and the rank of General.

When, in the February ensuing, the promised Court Martial met, a doubt was started (not on Lord George's side), and was referred to the Judges, whether a man no longer in the army could be subject to Military Law. The Judges gave their opinions that, so far as they could then see, the trial might proceed, but they reserved to themselves a further consideration, if any appeal should be made from the sentence. The witnesses were then examined, especially Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, and Captain Wintzingerode, the three aides-de-camp of Prince Ferdinand, who established in the clearest manner the charge of orders brought and not obeyed. Lord George's defence turned mainly on a seeming contradiction between these orders. Captain Ligonier had bid him advance with

* Mr. Pitt to Lord G. Sackville, Sept. 9. 1759. Chatham Correspondence. He promised, however, to Lord Bute, "all "the offices of humanity, as a most unhappy man," (Aug. 15. 1759,) and consented that Lord George should return from Germany by permission, instead of by order.

the whole cavalry, and Colonel Fitzroy with the British cavalry only. At the time Lord George had observed, "Captain Ligonier, your orders "are contradictory." But then Ligonier had replied, "In numbers only, my Lord; their destina- "tion is the same." In like manner Lord George had desired Fitzroy not to be in a hurry. "I am "out of breath with galloping," said Fitzroy, "which makes me speak quick, but my orders are "positive. The French are in disorder. Here is a "glorious opportunity for the English to distin- "guish themselves."—Surely, under such circumstances, no general of spirit would have wasted time by asking to consult Prince Ferdinand; no other word than "Charge!" would have burst from his lips!

Lord Granby had been summoned as a witness for the prosecution, but his testimony was marked by compassionate tenderness, softening, or suppressing, so far as truth allowed, whatever could load the prisoner. This tenderness was the more admired since at the army Granby and Sackville had been very far from friends. The evidence of another officer, Colonel Sloper, bore hard upon Lord George. He declared that he had remarked Lord George's confusion at the time, and had said to Ligonier,—and Ligonier deposed to having heard the words,—"For God's sake repeat your "orders to that man, that he may not pretend not "to understand them,—for it is near half an hour "ago that he has received orders to advance, and

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

" yet we are still here;—but you see the condition " he is in!"*

The defence of Lord George before his judges was skilful and able; his demeanour haughty and undaunted. According to Horace Walpole's narrative, " he treated the inferiority of their capacities " as he would have done if sitting amongst them. " He browbeat the witnesses, gave the lie to Sloper, " and used the Judge Advocate, though a very " clever man, with contempt."† The officers of the Court Martial, however, appear to have fulfilled their duty with equable firmness,—neither softened by his eloquence, nor yet irritated by his pride. Their final decision was, that Lord George had been guilty of disobeying Prince Ferdinand's orders, and that he was unfit to serve His Majesty in any military capacity whatever.—Yet, notwithstanding this judicial sentence,—notwithstanding the public opinion in support of it,—so ambitious a spirit was not easily quelled, and he rose in the ensuing reign to the highest employments in civil affairs.

On impartially reviewing the whole case, and judging (for such is the right of History) the judges, we shall, I think, acknowledge that their decision was equitably founded. The only doubt that arises is, whether Sackville was swayed by one of those panics to which men of quick genius are sometimes prone, or by an envy of Prince Ferdi-

* Proceedings of the Court Martial, published by authority, 1760, pp. 32 and 171.

† Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430.

nand's greatness, and a desire to leave the victory of his rival incomplete. The latter motive is alleged by several writers.* My own opinion, I confess, inclines to the former. 1759.

The papers of Mareschal de Contades, which had been taken by the victors of Minden, were a few weeks afterwards sent to the press in England. It then appeared that the instructions under which he had acted from Mareschal de Belleisle, as Minister of War, were such as to reflect great discredit on his government; they prescribed in several passages the laying waste of fertile districts and the plunder of peaceable inhabitants.—Lord Chesterfield, amidst his retirement, snatched a short interval from illness† to write and publish a letter setting this unwarrantable policy in the strongest light.

To the foreign transactions of this year I must add the decease of the King of Spain,—Ferdinand the Sixth,—a Prince of excellent intentions, but desponding temper and slender capacity. He was conscious of his own defects, and on one occasion, when a courtier had paid him a compliment on his skill in shooting, he replied: "It would be extra-

* Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 22.—Sismondi, vol. xxix. p. 198, &c.

† At this time he says to the Bishop of Waterford: "I have "been often within these three months not only too ill to write, "but too ill to speak, think, or move. Now I have a favour-"able moment of negative health." (Letter, Dec. 9. 1759.) In another letter he writes: "I can only vegetate with the "vegetables and crawl with the reptiles of my garden!"

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

" ordinary if I could not do one thing well!"* On coming to the throne in 1746 he had continued his confidence to his father's favourite Minister, Don Zeno Somo de Villa, Marquis de Ensenada, who had raised himself from an humble rank,—a clerk in a banking house in Cadiz,—and who felt a just pride at his rapid and unassisted elevation. Thus, when he received the rank of Marquis, he had chosen for his title the words EN SE NADA, " Nothing " of itself."—His principal colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was Don Joseph de Carvajal. The pride of this statesman seemed to lie in the opposite direction; he alleged a princely descent from the Blood Royal of England, and assumed the name of Lancaster in addition to his own. During the few hours that Prince Charles Stuart was allowed to pass at Madrid in 1747 he had skilfully endeavoured to work upon this weakness: " I spoke then,—so " that Carvajal might hear,—that there was nobody " could be more acceptable to me than him; says " I, in laughing, he is half an Englishman, being " called Lancaster!"†—In 1754, the death of Carvajal, and a Court cabal founded upon it, led to the fall of Ensenada; he was exiled to Granada, and his successor was General Richard Wall,—a native of Ireland, and lately the Spanish Ambassador in London. On the whole, under these various ministers, a tone of moderation and impartiality was

* Coxe, Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iv. p. 18. oct. ed.

† Letter to his father, March 12. 1747. Appendix, vol. iii.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1759.

preserved to foreign powers; the offers of Gibraltar from England, and of Minorca from France, as the price of war, were equally declined; and neither English nor French could obtain any decided or lasting preponderance at the Court of Madrid. The Ministers of Ferdinand, however, were not the persons who had most weight with him; still higher in his favour stood the Italian singer and SOPRANO Farinelli. Highest of all was his Queen,—Barbara of Portugal. This princess was older than her husband, and far from beautiful; —according to the French Ambassador, "her face "is such that she cannot be looked upon without "pain."* But so great were, no doubt, her mental charms, that the King ever continued most passionately attached to her. At her death without issue in August 1758, Ferdinand sunk into hopeless melancholy, immured himself in the secluded palace of Villa Viciosa, and refused to transact any public business. His situation is thus described by the British Ambassador, Lord Bristol:—"The "Catholic King will not be shaved, walks about "without any covering but his shirt, which has not "been changed for a surprising time, and a night-"gown. He has not been in bed for ten nights,

* "Son visage est tel qu'on ne peut la regarder sans peine." (Lettre du Duc de Noailles à Louis XV., le 30 Avril 1746. Mémoires de Noailles, vol. vi. p. 365.) Of her figure, Sir Benjamin Keene says, "it has a great deal more than *embon-point*." Nevertheless, "one of Her Majesty's favourite "diversions is dancing!" (Bedford Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 6.)

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

"nor is he thought to have slept five hours since "the 2d of this month, and that only by intervals "of half an hour, sitting upon his chair. He de- "clines lying down, because he imagines he shall "die when he does so."*—At length he expired on the 10th of August 1759, and in the forty-seventh year of his age.

The next heir to the throne was now his half-brother the King of Naples, with whom Ferdinand had always maintained a cordial correspondence. As Sir Benjamin Keene informs us, "the two Kings "write to each other by every courier, but they "never talk of their affairs; their letters are only "accounts of the game they have killed in the fore- "going week."† At the news of Ferdinand's demise the King of Naples assumed the title of Charles the Third, King of Spain and the Indies, and prepared to set out for his new dominions. It had been provided by the treaty of Vienna that the Crowns of Naples and Spain should never be united on the same head, and it therefore became incumbent on Charles to resign the less valuable kingdom to his younger son; but here an obstacle intervened, through the hopeless idiotcy of his eldest, Don Philip. Under these circumstances, Charles adopted a prudent and honourable part. He directed that

* Earl of Bristol to Mr. Pitt, November 13. 1758.—Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iv. p. 216.

† To Mr. Pitt, September 26. 1757. On King Charles's feats as a sportsman, see Swinburne's Travels in Spain, vol. ii. p. 140. ed. 1777.

the young Prince (then thirteen years of age) should be formally examined by physicians. Their report, which was made public, declares that Don Philip is of low stature and contracted joints, that he squints, and is short-sighted, that he is sometimes indifferent to things convenient for him, and at other times too warm and impetuous. They go on to complain that he has an obstinate aversion to fruits and sweetmeats, that all kinds of noise disturb and disconcert him, that pain or pleasure make no lasting impressions, that he is utterly unacquainted with politeness and good-breeding, that he has not the least idea of the mysteries of their holy religion, and, lastly, that he loves childish amusements, the most boisterous the best, and is continually shifting from one thing to another.* Hereupon the King issued a decree, by which his eldest son was set aside,—his second, Don Carlos, was declared Prince of Asturias,—and his third, Don Ferdinand, King of Naples, with a Council of Regency named by his father before his embarkation. 1759.

The new Sovereign of Spain, like his predecessor, was not a man of shining talents, but had many virtues,—justice, economy, and mildness. So strict were his notions of equity, that on leaving Naples he not only relinquished every farthing of the public treasure, but also every article of personal

* See this Report printed at full length in the Annual Register, 1759, p. 251. Horace Walpole malignantly adds: "If these "defects were disqualifications, hard would be the fate of most "sovereigns!" (Mem., vol. ii. p. 375.)

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

ornament,—even down to gems and rings,—considering them as the property of the people, in whose palaces he had found or from whose resources he had purchased them. On arriving at Madrid he steered a happy mean between a blind acquiescence and rash innovation,—sending into exile Farinelli, as the mere minion of Court favour, but retaining in office General Wall and other worthy servants of the late King. Of his foreign policy I shall hereafter have occasion to speak, and not in terms of praise. But his domestic administration shines forth like a green oasis amidst the long and dreary misgovernment of Spain. Strict justice was his fundamental rule. He honestly designed the public good, and steadily pursued it, with a limited capacity indeed, but with a boundless benevolence. "He ever," writes a British Ambassador at his Court, "prefers carrying a point by gentle means, "and has the patience to repeat exhortations "rather than exert his authority even in trifles. "Yet with the greatest air of gentleness, he keeps "his Ministers and attendants in the utmost awe."* During his reign torture was abolished, and the Inquisition, if still retained, yet checked and curbed. Though without any taste for literature or the arts, he held out to them a fostering hand. Every enterprise for national improvement found in him

* Lord Bristol to Mr. Pitt, Segovia, August 31. 1761. (Coxe's Bourbon Kings, vol. iv. p. 235.) See also a note by the late Lord Holland to Lord Orford's Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 377.)

a patron and a friend. Even at the present day the traveller in Spain, whenever any great public works or useful establishments,—and how seldom do they!—meet his eye, may be assured that their first foundation or their liberal encouragement was due to Charles the Third. 1759.

Such then were the principal foreign transactions of the year 1759,—the most glorious, probably, that England ever yet had seen. That it was the most glorious was apparently proclaimed or acknowledged by all parties at the time, nor will History find much to detract from that contemporary praise. In Asia, Africa, America, Europe, by land and sea, our arms had signally triumphed. Every ship from India came fraught with tidings of continued success to the British cause. In January we received the news of the capture of Goree, in June of the capture of Guadaloupe. In August came the tidings of the victory at Minden, in September of the victory off Lagos, in October of the victory at Quebec, in November of the victory at Quiberon. "Indeed," says Horace Walpole, in his lively style, "one is forced to ask every "morning what victory there is, for fear of miss-"ing one!" * Another contemporary, Dr. Hay, exclaimed, in no liberal spirit of triumph, that it would soon be as shameful to beat a Frenchman as to beat a woman! With better reason we might have claimed to ourselves the arrogant boast of the

* To Sir H. Mann, November 30. 1759.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

Spaniards only 150 years before, that there were not seas or winds sufficient for their ships!* Nor did our trade and manufactures languish amidst this blaze of military fame. It is the peculiar honour of Chatham,—as may yet be seen inscribed on the stately monument which the citizens of London have raised him in Guildhall,—that under his rule they found COMMERCE UNITED WITH AND MADE TO FLOURISH BY WAR.—Still less can it be said that these wonders had grown altogether from harmony and concord at home. It was the just vaunt of Chatham himself in the House of Commons, that success had given us unanimity, not unanimity success.† Never yet had there been a more rapid transition from languor and failure to spirit and conquest. Never yet had the merits of a great Minister in producing that transition been more fully acknowledged in his lifetime. The two Houses, which re-assembled in November, met only to pass Addresses of Congratulation and Votes of Credit. So far from seeking to excuse or to palliate the large supplies which he demanded, Pitt plumed himself upon them;—he was the first to call them enormous, and double any year's of Queen Anne. "To push expense," he said openly upon

* "Oprimas el Oceano
"Con tantas naves que apenas
"Sus quillas sufran sus hombros
"Ni el viento ocupe sus velas."

Lope de Vega a la muerte del Rey Felipe II. Obras, vol. iv. p. 374. ed. 1776.

† Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 389.

the Army Estimates, "is the best economy;"—a wise doctrine in war, which, perhaps, no statesman since his son has had the courage to avow. CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

Of the mastery which Pitt at this time could wield over the House of Commons a most remarkable instance is recorded by a most respectable authority. Once having concluded a speech, and finding no opponent rise, Pitt slowly walked out of the House. He had already opened the lobby-door, when a Member started up, saying, "I rise "to reply to the Right Honourable Gentleman."—Pitt, catching the words, stopped short, turned round, and fixed his eyes on the orator, who at that steady and scornful gaze sat down again silent and abashed. Pitt, who was suffering from gout, then returned to his seat, repeating to himself as he painfully hobbled along some lines of Virgil which express the ascendency of Æneas.* Then, placing himself on the front bench, he exclaimed, "Now "let me hear what the Honourable Member has to "say to me."—But nothing ensued.†

It was the remark of the Prussian Monarch at this time, while talking of English affairs at his own table, "England has been long in the pangs of "labour, and has grievously toiled in producing

* "At Danaûm proceres, Agamemnoniæque phalanges,
"Ut vidêre virum, &c."
(Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 489.)

† Butler's Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 154. Mr. Butler asked his informant, who was present, whether the House did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor Member. "No, Sir," he replied; "we were all too much awed to laugh!"

CHAP. XXXVI. 1759.

" Mr. Pitt, but at length she has borne A MAN !"* The colleagues of the " Great Commoner " were no longer talked of or thought of either by foreign nations or their own ; those only who had favours to solicit remembered that there was a Duke of Newcastle.

The concert in the administration, on which so much depended, was, however, nearly disturbed by the personal pretensions of one man,—Earl Temple. In the preceding year he had pressed the Duke of Newcastle with much warmth for the Garter, to which, says Horace Walpole, his awkward figure and his recent Earldom gave him but slender pretensions. The motive he put forward was, that His Majesty continued to slight and ill use him before all the world, and that he required some public token of esteem to wipe out that reproach, —the first time probably that the King's dislike has been urged as a claim to the King's favour ! With better reason he might rely on the eminent services of Pitt, as his brother-in-law, even while concealing his application, through delicacy, as he said, from Pitt himself. The Duke of Newcastle replied, as usual, in a timid and conciliatory strain, pleading the prior claims of Prince Ferdinand, the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Earl of Holderness.† There the matter was allowed to rest ; but in the autumn of 1759 Pitt renewed the applica-

* Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt, Torgau, October 22. 1759.

† See his letter (dated September 28. 1758) in the Chatham Correspondence.

tion of a Garter for Temple, as a reward to himself, and the only one he desired, for his services. Finding the King disinclined to his request, Pitt adopted a most haughty tone. He writes to the Duke of Newcastle, complaining of "unexampled depressions," and adds, "I shall rest it on the judgment of others, at all times much better than mine, whether the pretension in question has any thing in it exorbitant, or derogatory to the King's honour, or contrary to the good of his affairs. All I mean at present to trouble your Grace with is, to desire that when next my reluctant steps shall bring me up the stairs of Kensington, and mix me with the dust of the ante-chamber, I may learn once for all whether the King continues finally inexorable and obdurate to all such united entreaties and remonstrances as, except towards me and mine, never fail of success."*

It must be owned that a remonstrance in such a style carries with it too much the air of a command. Still, however, Pitt showed no intention to embarrass or to quit the public business for the sake of a bauble to his brother-in-law. But Lord Temple himself was far less moderate. On the day after the meeting of Parliament he resigned the Privy Seal, at the same time beseeching his two brothers, and also Pitt, not to go out on his account. A negotiation through the channel of the Duke of Devonshire ensued between the reluctant King and

* Letter dated September 27. 1759. Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 434.

CHAP. XXXVI.

the refractory nobleman, who in three days was persuaded to resume his office. There was no doubt, on this occasion, a promise more or less explicit of the Garter, and, accordingly, Lord Temple attained this object of his wishes in the February ensuing. Happily there were vacancies sufficient to invest at the same time Prince Ferdinand and Lord Rockingham.

1760.

If a short digression on the Garter itself may in this place be pardoned, we shall, I think, observe that this noble Order, founded by the chivalrous father of the still more chivalrous Black Prince, is now in some degree declined from its ancient renown. In ancient times it was the token and reward of worth full as often as of rank. Such names as Sir Walter Manny's and Sir John Talbot's adorn its early rolls.* Even in the last century the instances of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord North may suffice to show that it was not always confined to the highest ranks of the Peerage. But now very many years have passed since it has been bestowed upon a commoner or descended even to a Viscount or a Baron among the Peers themselves. Of the Knights created in the three last reigns it might be invidious to consider or compute the number whom not even

* At the first institution in 1350, it appears that besides King Edward and his eldest son, and the Captal de Buch (whom I scarcely know how to class), there were proclaimed as knights thirteen Peers and ten commoners. See a note to Johnes's Froissart, book i. ch. c. ed. 1842.

the most partial friendship could hold forth as having performed the slightest public service, or attained the slightest personal distinction. All Ministers seem agreed in treating the Garter as though it belonged of right to a small knot of Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls,—as a kind of heir-loom in certain great houses. Now, without denying that a fair proportion of the vacant Ribands should be thus bestowed, I think it for the honour even of those who thus receive them,—and for the dignity of the Order itself,—that the claims of long service, of public spirit, of tried integrity, of brilliant genius, should also be readily admitted from all the ranks of the Peerage, and even, on some rare and eminent occasions, from beyond it. It is this principle of combination between personal merit and ancient lineage,—between the greatest men of our own time and the descendants of the greatest men of other days,—which has so long upheld and maintained the House of Lords itself,—and as this principle has guarded the citadel, so let it grace the outworks too!

1760.

The almost unanimous Session of 1759–1760 affords few or no materials to History. But amidst this lull of politics at home a pamphlet by a nearly-forgotten statesman, Lord Bath, attracted some notice. It was entitled, "A Letter to Two Great "Men" (Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle), and contained a project of the terms which they should demand or expect at a peace.

England and Prussia were indeed at this period

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

making some overtures for a joint negotiation, and good old King Stanislaus had offered his capital, Nancy, as the seat of the expected Congress; but the French still hoped to retrieve the disasters and the Austrians to improve the advantages of their last campaign.

Of warlike events, the earliest in the year 1760 was a small shoot and offset of the threatened French invasion. We have seen how the main elements that were to form it had been scattered far and wide; how the fleet of La Clue had been defeated at Lagos, how the fleet of Conflans had been defeated at Quiberon, how only the small squadron of Thurot could escape from its pursuers. Thurot had, as it appeared, for his instructions, a descent on the north coast of Ireland. Accordingly, after being driven by storms to the coast of Scandinavia, and remaining there some weeks to refit, he sailed round the British Isles, and attempted to land near Derry. But another violent storm intervening, he again steered north, and anchored off Isla. There he obtained some fresh provisions, of which he stood greatly in need, and for which he most punctually paid, instead of plundering and defrauding,—as he so easily might,—the defenceless people; indeed, throughout the expedition, the honour and humanity of this brave adventurer are warmly acknowledged by his enemies. There also he obtained the first tidings of the defeat of Conflans; but as he could not be sure that this intelligence was not forged on purpose to deceive him,

and as he felt unwilling to return without striking a blow, he persisted in his resolution to sail for Ireland. Thus, on the 28th of February, he effected a landing before the town of Carrickfergus; his ships being now reduced to three, and his soldiers to 600. Carrickfergus was defended only by a ruinous wall, and four companies, mostly of recruits, under Colonel Jennings. Nevertheless the gates were shut, and a brisk fire of musketry was kept up against the assailants. At length, the enemy having forced their way in, the little garrison retired to the castle, where, however, the failure of their ammunition compelled them to surrender. Thurot proceeded to demand a supply of fresh provisions from the magistrates of Carrickfergus, which they imprudently refusing, their town was plundered. He had by this time received certain advices of the defeat at Quiberon, and also of the gathering of several thousand men,—soldiers, militia, volunteers,—against him at Belfast. Under such circumstances he hastily re-embarked his men, and sailed away. But he had not been many hours out of Carrickfergus before he was overtaken by Captain Elliot and three English frigates. These had been lying in the harbour of Kinsale, when orders came from the Duke of Bedford, as Lord Lieutenant, for them to go in quest of the French armament. A close engagement forthwith ensued; exactly three frigates to three. Thurot displayed his usual intrepidity, fighting his ship until the hold was almost filled with water and the deck covered

1760.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

with dead bodies. At length he was killed. The fall of so gallant a chief dispirited, not only his own, but the other French crews; Elliot was morever pressing them most bravely; they struck; and thus all the three ships,—every one of those which had presumed to insult our coasts,—were carried captive to Ramsay Bay in the Isle of Man.*

Our successes in North America this year were by no means unalloyed. Our troops, amounting to above 6,000 men, and commanded by Brigadier General Murray, had been left to maintain our new conquest of Quebec, at the time that our fleet sailed away for England. But as the fortifications of the town itself were not considerable on the land side, and as all communication with England was cut off by the ice in the lower St. Lawrence, the French deemed the opportunity auspicious, and resolved on an attempt to recover their lost ground. Their Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, could still send forth from his head-quarters at Montreal a body of 5,000 regular soldiers, and at least as many Canadian militia. These he entrusted to the charge of the Chevalier de Levis, an officer of reputation, with orders to advance upon Quebec as soon

* Annual Register, 1760, part i. p. 55. and part ii. p. 28.—Entick's History of the War, vol. iv. p. 319—333. The advice of Horace Walpole on this occasion to Sir Horace Mann is an excellent lesson of diplomacy. "Your part, my dear Sir, will "be very easy; you have only to say that it is nothing— "while it lasts,—and when it is over you must say, that it "was an embarkation of ten thousand men!"—February 28. 1760.

as the approach of spring might enable them to form a regular siege. The disposable force of Murray, on the other hand, was much reduced by sickness, and by the necessity of leaving the ramparts protected, so that he could lead from the gates little more than 3,000 men. With such inferiority of numbers it seemed contrary to every dictate of common sense to choose to try the fortune of war in the open field, instead of reserving the troops,—which, though weak as an army, were strong as a garrison,—for the defence of a fortified post. But the English General was flushed with the victory and emulous of the fame of Wolfe. On the 28th of April he marched out of the town, and found the enemy but a few miles distant. They had come down the upper river (whose navigation had just re-opened, although the snow still lay upon the ground,) in a squadron of ships and boats from Montreal; they had landed on the left bank without opposition, and were now at the village of Sillery, a little beyond the precipice which Wolfe had climbed. The English commenced the attack with great impetuosity, and obtained at first some advantage, but the superiority of numbers soon turned the scale against them; they were worsted, and driven back into Quebec with nearly 1,000 men killed or wounded. It was their boast, however, that the loss of the enemy in this action had been at least double their own. 1760.

That very night M. de Levis,—whose whole prospect of success depended on his forestalling

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

the arrival of a British squadron,—opened trenches before the town. Both the ruggedness of the ground, however, and the rigour of the season, interposed many obstacles, and several days elapsed before he could bring three batteries to play. Had a French fleet appeared first in the river, Quebec, —bravely defended though it would have been,— must inevitably have fallen. But on the 11th of May the expectant garrison were cheered by seeing an English frigate anchor in their harbour,—the forerunner of an English squadron commanded by Lord Colville. On the 15th another frigate and a ship of the line arrived. Next morning the two frigates were sent to attack the Montreal flotilla above the town; there was no resistance; the French vessels, intended rather for transport than defence, scattered in all directions, and ran ashore. —At this sight, which M. de Levis beheld from the neighbouring heights, he felt his last hopes of success fade away, and he raised the siege in the utmost haste and confusion; leaving behind him all his artillery, and no small share of his ammunition and baggage.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil now concentrated his forces within Montreal, and determined to remain on the defensive. In order to revive the spirit of his troops, and especially of the French Canadians, he issued a circular to the officers of militia, thanking them for their services at Sillery, and announcing great news from Europe. "The "truth is, His Majesty is in person in Holland

" with an army of 200,000 men, and the Prince de " Conti in Germany with 100,000. . . . .The pri- " soners, who are bringing in every moment, all " agree in confirming this."* But no such stratagems could suffice to ward off his own impending ruin. Three armies were now combining against him, all three by water-carriage, General Murray's from Quebec, Colonel Haviland's from Crown Point, and General Amherst's from Oswego. Amherst was Commander in Chief, and had by far the largest force, — full 10,000 men, — but he had likewise much the longest and most difficult navigation to achieve. All his measures were marked by calm and steady resolution; he transported his men, with their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, over Lake Ontario, though having none but open boats for the voyage; he then entered the Upper St. Lawrence, reduced on his way the fort of Ile Royale, surmounted the perils of the rapids, with a loss of ninety men drowned, and finally landed the army in the Isle of Montreal. So well was the entire plan framed, and so faithfully executed, that General Murray reached that Isle on the same day, and Colonel Haviland on the day ensuing. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, thus surrounded and overmatched, in a town but poorly fortified, saw that all further resistance would be vain, and immediately proposed a capitulation, which, after being modified by Amherst, was signed on the 8th of

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

* Circular Letter of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, dated June 3. 1760.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

September. By this treaty the French officers and soldiers were to be sent home, under an engagement not to serve again during the war, while the whole of Canada remained the undisputed and glorious conquest of the British arms. Nothing now remained to the French in North America beyond their newly-founded and thinly-peopled colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. London was rapidly becoming what Madrid had been,—"the universal home," according to the lofty phrase of Calderon*,—the centre of a great and growing colonial empire.

This, however, was not our sole success in North America. The French Court, eager for the relief of Montreal, had equipped and sent out a considerable number of store-ships under the convoy of three frigates; but their officers, finding that the British squadron had entered the St. Lawrence before them, relinquished their enterprise, and took shelter in the Bay of Chaleurs. There they were attacked by Captain Lord Byron, with some ships of war from Louisburg; and the whole expedition (twenty-two sail in all) were utterly destroyed,

* "Madrid, patria de todos."—In another place, but in the same strain, Calderon speaks of his King and Queen as suns that shine from earth instead of Heaven!

"Hija la mas santa y bella
"De los Catolicos Reyes
"Nuevos soles de la tierra!"

But this compliment he puts (rather less appropriately) into the mouth of our own Henry the Eighth, conversing with "El Cardenal Bolseo!" (La Cisma de Inglaterra, jornada 1.)

together with two batteries on shore which had been raised for their protection.

Some other but far less glorious advantages were gained over the Cherokees. This savage tribe had at the beginning seemed to espouse our cause; a fort called Loudoun had been built in their country, at their own desire; and they had sent some parties to our aid in our last expedition against Fort Duquesne. It is supposed that they were either on that occasion offended by English haughtiness, or since gained over by French emissaries. Certain it is that in the autumn of 1759 they commenced hostilities against our back-settlements in their usual cruel manner of ravage, murder, and scalping. Mr. Lyttleton, who was then Governor of South Carolina, marched against them at the head of 1,000 men, and by the terror of his approach compelled them to a treaty of peace. But no sooner had he returned to Charlestown than the attacks and outrages re-commenced. The affrighted settlers applied to General Amherst, who, in June 1760, sent to their aid a body of 1,200 men under Colonel Montgomery. This officer carried the war into the Cherokee country; but far from setting the savages an example of Christian forbearance, thought himself justified or compelled in retaliating upon them their own barbarities. The Indian villages were first plundered, and then set on fire. It is acknowledged by the English historians "that all the men that were taken suffered immediate death," and that

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

"some were burned in their houses."* A Roman Catholic writer might find some pleasure in dwelling on the contrast between the Protestants of Carolina and the Jesuits of Paraguay.

When, however, Colonel Montgomery had, according to his instructions, rejoined Amherst's main army, the Cherokees in their turn assembled to blockade Fort Loudoun. After a long siege, the garrison, being straitened for provisions, obtained an honourable capitulation, by which they were to retire unmolested. But they had not marched above fifteen miles on their way before they were perfidiously attacked and overpowered by a body of Indians; the officers, except Captain Stuart, slain, and the common men carried off as prisoners. There were nearly 200. All of them were afterwards redeemed, some at their own charge, but the greater number by the province of South Carolina. And a fresh detachment from Amherst's army, after the campaign in Canada, soon compelled the Cherokees to sue for peace.

Passing from America to Europe,—from the banks of the Mississippi to the banks of the Elbe,—we shall find the King of Prussia at his winter-quarters of Freyberg actively employed in collecting men and money, and repairing, so far as he could, the losses of his last campaign. The few moments that he could snatch from business were,

* Compare Smollett's History, book iii. ch. xiii. s. 21., and the Annual Register, 1760, part i. p. 62.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

as usual, devoted to literature. It is painful to observe that his favourite consolation in moments of difficulty and danger was (next to writing verses of his own) the perusal of Lucretius,—of those passages, especially, which attempt to prove the annihilation of all things after death.* A purer pleasure was afforded him by his correspondence with his familiar friends. To one of them, Count Algarotti, he writes as follows:—"It is "certain that we have had nothing but disasters "during the last campaign, and that we were "nearly in the same situation as the Romans after "the battle of Cannæ. One might also apply to "our enemies the saying of Barca to Hannibal:— "You know how to vanquish, but not how to "profit by victory.—Unluckily for me, I had a "sharp attack of gout towards the close of the "campaign; my left hand and both my legs were "disabled; I could only be dragged along from "place to place, the spectator of my own reverses. "Remember, too, how greatly the proportion of "numbers is against us, and how keen must be "the struggle against such odds, and you will not "be surprised at our being often worsted. The "Wandering Jew, if there ever was such a person, "did not lead a life so wandering as mine. We "become at length like the strolling players, with- "out any fixed abode; we travel to and fro to act "our bloody tragedies on whatever theatre our

* Letter to the Marquis d'Argens, May 12. 1759,—and several others.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

"enemies select. . . . . Wretched fools that we are, "who have but a moment to live! we make that "moment as painful as we can; we delight in "destroying those masterpieces of industry which "even Time has spared; we seem resolved on "leaving a hateful memory of our ravages, and of "all the calamities that we have caused!"*

It may be observed, however, that this familiar correspondence was not unattended with risk. This very year a letter from Frederick to the Marquis d'Argens was intercepted by the enemy, and as it contained a desponding view of his situation and prospects it was immediately made public, on purpose to dishearten his friends.†

In considering this Seven Years War,—this memorable struggle of Frederick against so many foes,—it is not sufficient to recount the battles or the sieges, or to pass vague panegyrics on the Prussian hero. His great genius for war may, indeed, sufficiently account for victories achieved or provinces subdued; but another inquiry still remains.—By what means was it possible, from his scanty and wasted dominions, from his five against ninety millions of people, to fill once more his empty exchequer, or the thinning ranks of his armies?—By what means could he adequately supply himself with money and with men?—As regards the first, I find that no loan was contracted

* Letter, dated Freyberg, March 10. 1760.

† This letter will be found in Entick's History, vol. iv. p. 400.

and no new tax imposed upon his subjects. But the subsidy of 670,000*l.* from England was annually renewed; the most rigorous assessments were exacted from Mecklenburg and Saxony (Leipsick alone in 1760 being forced to contribute a further sum of 1,100,000 dollars); the Saxon woods were felled, and sold to speculators; the civil offices in Prussia were left unpaid, for the great cause of national defence; and, above all, there was every season a systematic debasement of the coin.—As respects the latter, I shall quote the very words of a Prussian historian: "The King's own provinces could no longer sup- "ply his loss of men from death or desertion; but "he had a system of recruiting altogether un- "paralleled in History. Prisoners from the enemy "were compelled to become Prussian soldiers. No "question was asked them whether or not they "were willing to serve, but they were dragged by "force to the Prussian standards, made to take the "oath of allegiance, and marched off to fight "against their countrymen. A host of Prussian "recruiting officers in disguise spread over the "whole Germanic Empire. Most of these were "not real officers, but hired adventurers, who prac- "tised every possible trick on purpose to catch "men. Their chief was, however, the Prussian "Colonel Colignon, whom nature seemed to have "formed for such employments. He travelled "about under various names and disguises, per- "suading the unwary by hundreds to enlist. Not "merely was he liberal of promises, but he gave

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

"written patents, appointing any youngster a "Lieutenant or a Captain in some Prussian regi- "ment. So high was then the renown of the "Prussian arms, and so closely connected with the "ideas of spoil and prize-money, that Colignon's "manufactory of patents was ever employed. "Many a spendthrift son along the Rhine, in "Franconia, or in Suabia, was induced to rob his "parents, many an apprentice his master, many an "agent his employer, in order to seek out these "magnanimous Prussian officers who bestowed "commissions as freely as halfpence. Well-pro- "vided with their patents, they then hastened to "Magdeburg, where they found themselves re- "ceived as common soldiers, and forcibly enlisted "as such in the various regiments. No complaint, "no resistance availed them; they were plied with "the cane until even the most stubborn grew sup- "ple. By such and such like means did Colignon "and his assistants procure the King during the "war not less than 60,000 recruits!"*

Austria and Russia, on their part, made the greatest exertions for the coming campaign. One large Austrian army under Daun entered Saxony; another under Laudohn Silesia, and, with this last, the Russian General, Soltikow, received orders to co-operate. Laudohn was, as usual, the most active and successful of all. He defeated and took prisoner the Prussian General Fouqué at Land-

* Archenholtz, Siebenjähriger Krieg, vol. ii. p. 35.

shut; he reduced in six days siege the important fortress of Glatz. At the news of Fouqué's danger, Frederick, though close pressed in Saxony, passed the Elbe and marched away to his relief. It was now the month of July, and the heat so overpowering, that on a single day 105 Prussians fell dead from their place in the ranks. Strict orders had been issued, from a regard to the health of the soldiers, that they should not,—heated as they were with marching,—be allowed to drink; but their thirst overcame their discipline; whenever they espied a pond or a streamlet, they broke their ranks and rushed towards it, drawing the water with their hats, and regardless of the blows which their officers and serjeants were all the while dealing upon them.* 1760.

Through this burning heat, and over those sandy plains, Frederick still marched on. At his departure, Marshal Daun had also set his own troops in motion, keeping pace with the Prussian, and marching along the borders of Bohemia. But on the intelligence that Fouqué was already defeated, Frederick, with all the promptness of genius, entirely altered his plans. First, pausing in his progress to gain some marches from Daun, he suddenly hastened back before Dresden, in the hope of taking that city by a COUP DE MAIN. That project, however well concerted, was baffled by the resolute resistance of

* Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 47. He adds, that, according to the rules of the Prussian service at that time, the offenders should have been, not merely caned, but shot dead on the spot.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

the governor, Maguire, an officer of Irish parentage, and by the speedy return of Daun. It was then that Frederick gave orders of peculiar harshness. After the approach of the Austrians had put an end to every prospect of success in the siege, he yet,—whether to wreak his vengeance or display his power,—continued the bombardment, directing it not so much against the fortifications as against the town. Some of the most splendid palaces, of the most stately domes and spires, in Germany, were in a few days levelled to the ground. The suburbs without were set on fire, while red-hot balls kindled the houses within. Many of the peaceable inhabitants,—old men, women, and children,—were struck in the streets or crushed in their buildings; many others,—and some of high rank and education,—beheld all their property consumed, and rushed from the town in affright and beggary. Thirty years of succeeding peace were not sufficient to repair this havoc,—which has been universally and justly reprobated as a main blot on the fame of the Prussian monarch.

Another as cruel siege was threatened in Silesia. Laudohn at the head of 50,000 men appeared before the capital, Breslau, which had then 9,000

* "C'est une des taches les plus odieuses qui ternissent sa "memoire," &c. (Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 211.) Some striking details of this bombardment are given by Rabener, who was present, in a letter to his friend Gellert. The letter is dated August 9. 1760, and printed in Rabener's Works, vol. vi. p. 239.

Austrian prisoners in its dungeons, and only 3,000 Prussian soldiers for its defence. But these were commanded by Tauentzien, one of the most gallant veterans of his age or country. Lessing, who had been his Secretary, used to say of him, that if even the Prussian cause were wholly ruined, and that the King could muster his remaining followers under a single tree, beneath that tree would Tauentzien be found.* On this occasion he stood firm against all the menaces of Laudohn. "Capitulate, "capitulate," cried the Austrian general, "or we "shall give no quarter,—even the child unborn shall "not be spared!"—Tauentzien coolly answered: "I am not pregnant, nor are my soldiers!" With the same coolness did he maintain his post during the bombardment, and defend the city for several days, until the approach of Prince Henry induced Laudohn to raise the siege.

1760.

On the other hand, Frederick, baffled in his views upon Dresden, resumed his first design, and marched into Silesia. Here,—still followed by Daun,—he found himself opposed by three armies. But as they scattered in order to surround him, he watched his opportunity to deal a heavy blow on one of them. This was the battle of Liegnitz, which he gained over Laudohn on the 15th of August. "Under any other circumstances," writes the King himself, "the affair of the 15th would "have decided the campaign; now it seems only

* Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 247.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

"a scratch."* Still it secured Silesia, inducing the Russians to repass the Oder, and preventing any further siege of Breslau or Schweidnitz. But he could not hinder a body of Russians under Tottleben, and of Austrians under Lacy, from pushing forward to Berlin. The Prussian capital was then begirt only by a palisade, and defended by a handful of convalescents. These, however, headed by the gallant General Seydlitz,—with his wound at Kunersdorf yet raw,—made a most resolute resistance; citizens and soldiers showed nearly equal spirit, and it was only on the enemy's reinforcements coming up that they agreed to a capitulation. On the 9th of October, Lacy and Tottleben marched in. Lacy, an Irishman in Maria Theresa's service, is accused of plundering the palaces of Charlottenburg and Schönhausen, and allowing his troops great excesses in the suburbs of Berlin. On the other hand, Prince Esterhazy, who commanded at Potsdam, showed the most courteous and humane forbearance, taking away but a single picture from Sans Souci as a memorial of his conquest. Still more remarkable was the conduct of the Russians. These invaders, whose havoc in the open country had been so appalling, here refrained,—as the Prussian writers gratefully acknowledge,—from the slightest act of violence or outrage, merely levying, as they were well entitled to do, a contribution of 1,700,000 dollars from the city. Their stay at

* Letter to the Marquis d'Argens, August 27. 1760.

Berlin was only of three days duration; the news of Frederick's approach urged both Tottleben and Lacy to a precipitate retreat. 1760.

Having thus freed Silesia by his victory, and Berlin by his approach, Frederick turned his arms towards Saxony. Marshal Daun had marched again into that country, and had overrun the whole; he had taken Leipsick, Wittenberg, and Torgau, and fixed his head-quarters at the latter. Had he there remained unmolested, he would have commanded the course of the Elbe, and cut off the communication between the King and the northern provinces. Frederick (who had already crossed the Elbe at Dessau, and recovered Leipsick,) determined at all risks to give him battle. On the 3d of November he led on his troops to the assault; they were 44,000, and Daun's at least 60,000. But, besides his superiority of numbers, the Austrian Marshal had carefully entrenched and fortified his position. It was a dreadful day of carnage; on both sides blood flowed as water. The Prussians marched full upon Daun's batteries of 400 pieces of cannon; within half an hour above 5,000 grenadiers, the pride and strength of Frederick's army, lay dead or disabled on the ground. None exposed their persons more courageously than the monarch himself. "Did you ever hear a stronger "cannonade?" said he, to one of his generals; "I for one never did!" After a while he received a contusion on the breast from a spent ball, and was compelled to quit the field. Daun also had

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

fallen from a wound in the foot, and was carried back into Torgau, leaving the command to General O'Donnell, another of those brave Irishmen whose principles prevented their entering our own service, and whose merit ensured their promotion in any other.

Long and fierce was the conflict. The sun went down amidst clouds and rain, and a frosty night succeeded; but still did the fighting continue. In front the Prussians had given way, but their reserve under General Ziethen attacked the Austrians from behind, and succeeded in gaining the heights which formed the strength of their position. This success was decisive of the day. Frederick, who had been removed to the little village of Elsnig, and lay stretched on the pavement of the church, beside the altar, on which he wrote his despatches, thought that his attack had failed, and intended to renew it on the morrow. It was late in the evening when an express arrived with the unexpected tidings of victory. At the dawn of next day his own eyes beheld the Austrian army already beyond the Elbe, and in full retreat. But how far from welcome was the sight of the battle-field itself! There, thousands of wounded,—to whom no assistance had been or could be rendered,—lay as they had fallen, exposed to all the horrors of that wintry night,—their own blood frozen on their wounds,—nay, worse still in many cases, stripped and left bare by the followers and marauders of both armies. When the morning broke it found many

of these poor wretches still writhing in agony, but many more stiffened in death.* The entire loss of the Austrians, including prisoners, was computed at 20,000; that of the Prussians at 14,000. It would seem as if the recollection of this frightful butchery had sunk deep in the minds of both contending parties; both, as if in concert, avoided any other pitched battle during the remainder of the war. 1760.

The immediate result of this battle was the Austrian evacuation of all Saxony, excepting Dresden. Frederick fixed his own winter-quarters at Leipsick. Thus had ended prosperously for his arms the fifth campaign of this most unequal war. In the south he had maintained his position with the loss of one fortress and one skirmish (Glatz and Landshut), and the gain of two battles (Liegnitz and Torgau),—the former lost by his generals, the latter gained by himself. In the centre his capital had been taken, but honourably defended and speedily recovered. In the north the Swedes had, as usual, done little more than nibble at the frontier of Pomerania; and though a powerful Russian fleet had come to the siege of Colberg, it had met with a most resolute resistance, and after a month's attack was compelled to sail away.

Compared to this campaign of King Frederick, observes a modern historian, Prince Ferdinand's appears little more than child's play.* Yet Ferdi-

* Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 213.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

nand deserves high praise for stemming the progress of a far superior enemy. During the winter the French armies on the Rhine and Mayn, under the Duke de Broglie, had been reinforced, till they amounted to at least 100,000 men, and during the summer they pushed forward into Hesse. On the 10th of July the Hereditary Prince attacked their vanguard at Corbach, but was worsted and wounded; a few days afterwards, however, he gained the advantage in another skirmish at Emsdorf. A more important action was fought near Warburg by Ferdinand himself, when the enemy lost ten pieces of artillery and 1,500 men; the day being decided against them mainly by a charge of Lord Granby and the British horse. Indeed throughout this campaign Lord Granby showed himself a most active and spirited officer, and the troops he commanded in all respects worthy our military fame. They were constantly put forward by Prince Ferdinand in the posts of greatest honour,—that is, of danger,—and their loss in killed and wounded was, therefore, much greater in proportion than the other divisions of his army sustained.

The French, notwithstanding their check at Warburg, had obtained possession both of Göttingen and Cassel. De Broglie fixed his headquarters at the latter, and attempted to fortify the former, remaining for some time otherwise inactive. A few weeks later Ferdinand detached the Hereditary Prince to make a diversion beyond the Rhine, and undertake the siege of Wesel. On the

other part, the Marquis de Castries, with 25,000 men, was sent to the same quarter. These troops it became the object of the Hereditary Prince to surprise and overpower in a night attack.—It was before the dawn of the 16th of October, and near the Closter (or Convent) of Campen; the allies marching silently on, shrouded by the double darkness of the night and of the woods. They were already close upon the enemy, when they, at a sudden turn, came upon the Chevalier d'Assas, a young officer of the regiment of Auvergne, who commanded an outpost, and had rambled a little in advance of it. In an instant a hundred bayonets were levelled at his breast, with a threat of immediate death if he gave the least alarm. But the high-minded Frenchman did not hesitate. Collecting all his voice for one loud cry,—A MOI AUVERGNE, VOILA LES ENNEMIS!—the next moment he fell back, pierced through with mortal wounds. This heroic act,—worthy the Decii of another age,—saved the French army from surprise, and, probably, destruction. The Hereditary Prince was repulsed with a loss of 1,200 men, and compelled to raise the siege of Wesel. Such (except an unsuccessful siege of Göttingen by Prince Ferdinand) was the last remarkable incident of this campaign; and at its close the French took up their quarters in Hesse, around the city of Cassel.

On the 25th of October,—only two days before the news arrived of the surrender of Berlin, and the defeat of Closter Campen,—King George the

CHAP. XXXVI. 1760.

Second expired.—His health had for a long period continued uniformly good. In 1758, being then seventy-five years of age, he had a serious illness, which ended, however, in a wholesome fit of the gout, and which is only memorable as connected with a strange superstition. Lord Chesterfield writes at the time: "It was generally thought His "Majesty would have died, and for a very good "reason;—for the oldest lion in the Tower, much "about the King's age, died a fortnight ago. This "extravagancy, I can assure you, was believed by "many above the common people."*—So difficult is it for human imagination to assign any bounds, however remote, to human credulity!

During the last two years the monarch's sight and hearing had begun gradually to fail. He complained that every body's face seemed to have a black crape over it.†—On the morning of the 25th of October the King rose at his wonted hour of six, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails. —Shortly afterwards his attendants in the antechamber were alarmed at the sound of a heavy fall and a stifled groan. Rushing in, they found on the floor the King, who in falling had cut the right side of his face against a bureau, and who after a gasp expired. It was discovered, on subsequent examination, that the right ventricle of the heart

* Letter to his son, November 21. 1758.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 16. 1759.

had burst. He was laid on his bed, and Lady Yarmouth was called; she, in her turn, sent for the Princess Amelia; but the messenger did not inform the Princess of the fatal event, and Her Highness, who was purblind and very deaf, hurried down into the room without perceiving it. She fancied that the King spoke to her, though she could not hear him, and she put her face close to his, to catch his words.—It was not till that moment she discovered that her father was dead!*

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, October 28. 1760 (the last letter of the first series), and Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

THE young Prince of Wales,—henceforth King George the Third,—was riding with Lord Bute in the neighbourhood of Kew, when a groom first brought him the hasty tidings of his grandfather's decease. Ere long the groom was followed by Pitt as Secretary of State. His Majesty, after returning to Kew, proceeded to Carlton House, the residence of the Princess Dowager, to meet the Privy Council, and, according to ancient form, read to them a short Address, which he had directed Bute to prepare. Next morning he was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities. On these and the ensuing days the demeanour of the young monarch was generally and justly extolled. He seemed neither elated, nor yet abashed and perplexed, by his sudden accession;—all he said or did was calm and equable, full of graciousness and goodness. The Address to his Council was well and feelingly delivered, and he dismissed the guards on himself to wait on his grandfather's body. "He has behaved throughout," says Horace Wal-

CHAP. XXXVII.

1760.

pole, a critic of no courtly temper, "with the "greatest propriety, dignity, and decency."*

George the Third—whose reign, including the years of Regency, proved to be the longest and the most eventful in the English annals—was at the time of his accession twenty-two years of age. His figure was tall and strongly built; his countenance open and engaging. A heartfelt and unaffected Christian piety formed the foundation of his character. In the private and domestic virtues few men, and certainly no monarch, ever excelled him. His education having been neglected by his mother and mismanaged by his governors, his range of reading was not extensive, nor his taste within that range always happy. "Was there ever," cried he to Miss Burney, "such stuff as great "part of Shakespeare?—only one must not say so! "What! is there not sad stuff?—What?—"what?"† But his manner in conversation did great injustice to his own endowments. His rapid utterance and frequent reiteration of trivial phrases,—his unceasing "What! what!" and "Hey! "hey!"—gave him an aspect of shallowness to mere superficial observers, and obscured (literary subjects apart) the clear good sense, the sterling

* To Sir H. Mann, October 28. 1760. In like manner Lady Harvey writes: "So much unaffected good-nature and propriety "appears in all our young King does or says that it cannot "but endear him to all." To Mr. Morris, October 30. 1760, Letters, p. 271. ed. 1821.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary, December 19. 1785. (vol. ii. p. 398.)

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

judgment within. Thus also his own style in writing was not always strictly grammatical, but always earnest, plain, and to the point. To the exalted duties of his station he devoted himself with conscientious and constant attention. The more the private papers of his reign come to light the more it will appear how closely, during fifty years, he superintended all the movements of the great political machine. At all times, and under all vicissitudes,—whether in victory or in disaster,—whether counselled by Ministers of his own choice, or in the hands of a party he abhorred,—he was most truly and emphatically an honest man. "Though none of my Ministers stand by me, I "will not truckle*,"—was his saying on one occasion, and his sentiment on all. I shall not deny that his prepossessions for or against any statesman were mostly too strong and difficult to conquer, nor that his firmness sometimes hardened into obstinacy. The earlier years of his reign were not free from errors of conduct or intervals of consequent unpopularity; but the longer he lived, and the better he was understood, the more his subjects felt how closely his general views and principles, his tastes and habits, were in accordance with their own. And thus in the latter half at least of his reign, after he had shaken off the sway of the northern Favourite,—the report of that sway

* To the Earl of Chatham, May 30. 1767. Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 261.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

which so long survived its reality,—the taint of the factions which Junius adorned and envenomed, —and the odium of the North American contest, —no monarch, not Henri Quatre, not Maria Theresa, not even our own Elizabeth, were ever more deeply rooted in the hearts of the people that they ruled. How strong and real became the sympathy felt for his health, and the confidence reposed in his integrity! How many millions were looking up to him with a feeling scarcely short of filial! Who that beheld, even in childhood, can forget (it is one of my own childhood's earliest and not least welcome recollections) the warm and enthusiastic burst of loyal affection with which the whole nation, without distinction of party, hailed the jubilee,—the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of him whom every tongue, in homely but heartfelt language, then proclaimed as "the good old King!"

That His Majesty's predilection for the Earl of Bute was an error I have already acknowledged. It is undoubtedly the part of a wise Sovereign on his accession to dismiss any partiality not founded on the public service. Yet still it should be borne in mind that this partiality of George the Third had its root in considerable virtues. Affection and duty to his parent,—esteem for those whom she mainly trusted,—regard for the servants who had faithfully adhered to his father and himself in their days of Court disfavour,—return for professions of unbounded attachment,—the kindness of long-

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

continued intimacy,—the generous warmth of friendship and of youth,—such feelings might have bound even a greater King than George the Third to even a much worse favourite than Bute.

From the first moment of the new reign the ascendency of Bute had been foreseen and foretold. Only a few days afterwards a hand-bill was affixed to the Royal Exchange, with these words: "No petticoat government,—no Scotch "favourite,—no Lord George Sackville!"—Of the second of these surmises confirmation was not, indeed, slow in coming. On the next morning but one after his accession the King directed that his brother, Edward Duke of York, and his Groom of the Stole, Lord Bute, should be sworn of the Privy Council; and Bute appears henceforwarded to have been consulted on all the principal affairs. The quick-eyed tribe of Courtiers at once perceived that this was the channel through which the Royal favours would most probably flow, and to which their own applications would most wisely be addressed.

But while the King thus indulged his predilection towards the friend of his early years, he received all his grandfather's Ministers with cordial kindness, and pressed them to continue in his service. Pitt declared his willingness to remain on the same footing as before. Newcastle, now sixty-six years of age, made at first a show of resignation, with a view, no doubt, of enhancing his importance, but as he took care to consult only

such followers and expectants as had an interest in his stay he did not fail to receive earnest entreaties in support of his real inclinations, and magnanimously consented to resume the Treasury. Nay, so keen was he at this very time in his race for Court-favour against his colleagues, that he sent most abject messages to Bute, hoping to see him in some high employment, and declaring his own readiness to serve not only with but under him!* Such meanness might well suffice to disarm the Favourite's envy, and to turn it against Pitt. 1760.

During Newcastle's ascendency in the former reign it may be recollected that friendship was felt,—or at least professed,—between Pitt and Bute. But this friendship had cooled in the case of Lord George Sackville, whom Pitt had refused to shield in the manner Bute desired, and this friendship was now severed by the variations of political affairs,—"variations" which, as Chesterfield says on another occasion, "know no friends, "relations, or acquaintances."† It was now become the question,—according to a lady's jest at the time,—what the King should burn in his chamber, whether Scotch-coal, Newcastle-coal, or pit-coal!

* See the minutes of a private conference between Dodington and Lord Bute in Dodington's Diary, December 27. 1760. A letter from H. Walpole to G. Montagu (October 31. 1760), and another from Sir J. Yorke to Mr. Mitchell (Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 83), throw some further light on these transactions,—the latter perhaps rather a beautifying or *Claude Lorraine* light.

† Lord Chesterfield's Characters,—"the Duke of Newcastle."

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

On the 31st of October the King highly gratified the more serious portion of his people by a Proclamation "for the encouragement of piety and "virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, "profaneness, and immorality." Such Proclamations are worth little more than the paper they are written on when not consonant to the personal conduct of the Sovereign, but in this case the document was happily upheld by half a century of undeviating Royal example.—It was also observed, with satisfaction, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, proud of so promising a pupil, and having no longer a Lady Yarmouth to encounter, had become frequent in attendance at the Court.

Two other measures of the King at this time, being much misunderstood, were often complained of. The Prayer of the Liturgy, in which the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Amelia had heretofore been specially named, was now altered, so as only to include them in the general terms,—"and all "the Royal Family." Let it be observed, that such special mention in the public worship must be regulated by proximity to the person of the Sovereign, and that the King's uncle and aunt could only,—if named at all,—be placed after his numerous brothers and sisters. So far then from this omission being, as was afterwards alleged, a studied insult to the Duke of Cumberland, it is quoted by a writer of the time as "a delicacy of "attention."—"The King," says Horace Walpole, "would not permit any body but the Princess

" (Dowager) to be named in the prayers, because " the Duke of Cumberland must have been put " back for the Duke of York."*

The second measure to which I have referred was the gift of the Rangership of Richmond Park to Lord Bute, in the place of Princess Amelia. It was boldly asserted, that the gratification of the Favourite, and the mortification of the Princess, were equal motives for the change; but in truth Her Royal Highness held the appointment for life, and could not have been divested of it without her full consent. Some time back she had attempted, in an arbitrary manner, to close a public right of way through the domain. A jury, when appealed to, had decided against her pretensions; the residence where she had made herself unpopular soon became distasteful to her; and she cheerfully resigned it, on receiving an ample equivalent.†—In both these cases, therefore, the clamour against Bute appears destitute of any solid foundation.

Meanwhile His late Majesty's will had been opened. He had bequeathed a cabinet containing 10,000*l.* to Lady Yarmouth, and named his three surviving children, the Duke of Cumberland, the Princess Amelia, and the Princess of Hesse as

* To Sir H. Mann, November 1. 1760.—The second series of these letters, which was published in 1843, and which extends from 1760 to 1776, though less important than the first, is of considerable interest and value.

† See a note to Mr. Adolphus's History of England from the Accession of George III., vol. i. p. 22. ed. 1840.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

joint heirs to his floating balance. But his savings, which at one time must have been immense, had of late, as we have seen, gone to the defence of his Electorate.—On the 11th of November his obsequies took place at Westminster Abbey, and with regal splendour. Of this mournful scene Horace Walpole, who was present, has left us a striking account. "The procession through a line of foot-"guards, every seventh man bearing a torch, the "horse-guards lining the outside, their officers, with "drawn sabres and crape sashes, on horseback, the "drums muffled, the fifes, bells tolling, and minute "guns,—all this was very solemn; but the charm "was the entrance of the Abbey, where we were "received by the Dean and Chapter in rich robes, "the choir and almsmen bearing torches; the "whole Abbey so illuminated that we saw it to "greater advantage than by day,—the tombs, long "aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly. "... The Bishop read sadly, and blundered in the "prayers.... The real serious part was the figure "of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a "thousand melancholy circumstances.... Attend-"ing the funeral of a father could not be plea-"sant; his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand "upon it near two hours; his face bloated and "distorted with his late paralytic stroke, which "has affected, too, one of his eyes, and placed over "the mouth of the vault into which, in all proba-"bility, he must himself so soon descend;—think "how unpleasant a situation! He bore it all with

"a firm and unaffected countenance. This grave "scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque Duke "of Newcastle. He fell into a fit of crying the "moment he came into the chapel, and flung him- "self back in a stall, the Archbishop hovering "over him with a smelling bottle; but in two "minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypo- "crisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass "to spy who was or was not there,—spying with "one hand and mopping his eyes with the other. ".... It was very theatric to look down into the "vault where the coffin lay attended by mourners "with lights."*

The Parliament, which had been prorogued for a few days on account of the demise of the Crown, was on the 18th of November opened by the King. Never, it was remarked, had there been greater crowds at such a ceremony, nor louder acclamations. The Royal Speech had been drawn up by Lord Hardwicke, and revised by Pitt†; but when complete His Majesty is said to have added with his own hand a paragraph as follows: "Born and "educated in this country, I glory in the name of "Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life "will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a "people whose loyalty and warm attachment to "me I consider as the greatest and most perma-

* To George Montagu, Esq., November 13. 1760. This lively description may be compared with the dry official statement in the Annual Register for 1760, part i. p. 179.

† Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 82.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

" nent security of my throne."—Such cordial language met with no less cordial responses from both Houses. " What a lustre," exclaim the Lords, " doth it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, " Sir, are pleased to esteem it among your glories!" —" We acknowledge," say the Commons, " with " the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and " exultation of mind, these most affecting and " animating words." — Nevertheless, these words did not wholly escape animadversion out of doors; some captious critics contended that they implied, and were intended to imply, a censure against the late reign.

I have heard it related, but on no very clear or certain authority, that the King had in the first place written the word " Englishman," and that Lord Bute altered it to " Briton."

In other passages His Majesty's Speech professed a thorough concurrence in the counsels which during the last few years had guided his grandfather's reign. It praised the " magnanimity " and perseverance, almost beyond example," of his good brother the King of Prussia;—to our own victories it adverted in becoming terms of exultation;—it declared that His Majesty would have been happier still could he have found his kingdoms at peace; " but since," it added, " the " ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous " designs of my enemies rendered the war both " just and necessary, I am determined to prosecute " this war with vigour."—In conclusion, the King

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

expressed his delight at the present "happy extinc- "tion of divisions," and recommended to his Parliament "unanimity." Never was any recommendation more fully complied with; scarce one public difference of opinion appeared. Another annual Subsidy of 670,000*l.* to the King of Prussia was proposed by Pitt, and granted by the House of Commons.* Supplies to the unprecedented amount of nearly twenty millions sterling were cheerfully voted. The Civil List for the new reign, on the King surrendering the branches of his Hereditary Revenue, was fixed at 800,000*l.* a year. Nothing was heard in either House but dutiful Addresses and loyal congratulations. It resembled the first accession of Anne of Austria to the Regency of France, when, as the French writers say, their language seemed reduced to only these five words: LA REINE EST SI BONNE!† Nor was there less of apparent harmony both in the country and at Court. It had been the peculiar happiness of Pitt's administration to dissolve the ancient ties of Jacobitism, and to blend the hostile ranks of Whig and Tory. Yet still many great families had continued from habit what had begun in aversion,—their estrangement from St. James's,—and had

* "Mr. Pitt moved for the money for the Prussian treaty; "said very little but 'magnanimous ally' and 'the Protestant "cause;' Legge said less, but seconded him . . . . . so we "voted the money, and adjourned." (Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, December 22. 1760.)

† Mem. de Retz, vol. i. p. 81. ed. 1817.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

never appeared at the Court of George the Second. The accession of a new sovereign, born and bred in England, and wholly untainted with Hanoverian partialities, gave them a favourable opportunity to renounce, even in outward form, their obsolete political faith. Thus, then, the members of the old Jacobite connexion came flocking to the Levee-Room, and found a gracious reception confirm their new-born attachment. "The Sovereign now"—says a shrewd observer, after complaining of the shyness and reserve of George the Second at his Levees,—"walks about, and speaks to every body."* In the new Household several noblemen of this old Jacobite connexion were appointed Lords—and several gentlemen Grooms—of the Bedchamber; an excellent policy, promoting the reconciliation of a party without any approximation to its principles in government. I may observe, in passing, that these new accessions to the Court,—who for the most part took shelter under the wing of Bute,—were called Tories, and that the name speedily extended to all those willing to support Bute's person or policy, while his opponents combined under the appellation of Whigs. Such was the

* H. Walpole to G. Montagu, November 13. 1760. Mr. Hallam observes: "It is probable that scarcely one person of the "rank of a gentleman south of the Tweed was found to "dispute the right of the House of Brunswick after 1760." (Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 341.)—See also Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 194.

first revival of those party nicknames which had been so gloriously extinguished or intermingled in Pitt's administration, and which, after some further phases during the reign of George the Third, came at length, in the reign of his son, to that remarkable counterchange from their early principles which I have elsewhere endeavoured to portray.*

But, however fair and specious seemed the unanimity which greeted the new reign, it was no more than apparent. Beneath that smooth surface jealousy, rancour, and ambition were already beginning to stir and heave. A small knot of grasping families among the Peers,—which wished to be thought exclusively the friends of the Hanover succession, and which had hitherto looked upon Court offices, honours, and emoluments as almost an heirloom belonging to themselves,—viewed with envious eyes the admission of new claimants, not as involving any principle of politics, but only as contracting their own chances of appointment. Such malcontents found a congenial mouth-piece in the Duke of Newcastle. Almost at the very time that he was sending in private humble messages to Bute, and writing to congratulate Pitt on "any possibility of difference being removed †," he and his followers raised a loud cry at the appoint-

* Note to Vol. I. of this History, Appendix, p. xcii., second edition.

† Letter, November 28. 1760. Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 87.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1760.

ment, without his knowledge, of Lord Oxford and Lord Bruce to the Bedchamber. In like manner he complained that several gentlemen of the same connexion had announced themselves as candidates and supporters of the Government at the ensuing General Election, and had received a promise of the Government support in return; in truth, he was angry that the entire management of the Elections was no longer centred in his hands. These grievances he recounted with deep emotion to Mr. Rigby, hoping, no doubt, through that channel, to inflame the Duke of Bedford. "Whenever," he cried, "I ask an explanation of these "and other matters, the constant answer is, the "King has ordered it so!"*

On the other hand, the cabals of Bute were to the full as numerous and as crooked as Newcastle's. It was his object to hold himself forth as the sole expounder of the King's wishes and opinions,—as the single and mysterious high-priest of the Royal Oracle. Thus, for example, some time before the Dissolution of Parliament, he told the First Lord of the Admiralty, that room must be made for Lord Parker. To this Anson replied, that all was full. "What, my Lord," cried Bute, in his loudest tones, "the King's Admiralty Boroughs full, and the "King not acquainted with it!"—Anson, never ready at words, appeared confounded and struck

* Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, December 19. 1760. Bedford Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 425.

dumb with the rebuke.*—Indeed, on all occasions, as we have seen from Newcastle's complaints, Bute was ready to allege the King's orders in place of any other reason. But he did not long continue satisfied with his secret influence; he had begun to aim at eminent office, although his ambition was often dashed with doubts, tremors, and misgivings. On this subject he had more than one confidential conference with his friend, Bubb Dodington, within the second month of the new reign. "Why not," said Dodington, "take the Secretary's office, and "provide otherwise for Lord Holderness?" After some hesitation, Bute opened his design as follows: "If that were the only difficulty it could be easily "removed, for Lord Holderness is ready, at my "desire, to quarrel with his fellow Ministers, on "account of the slights and ill usage which he "daily experiences, and go to the King, and "throw up in seeming anger, and then I might "come in, without seeming to displace any body!" —This expedient was too gross for the taste of even Dodington himself, and Bute afterwards laid it aside.† 1760.

In another conference, however, Bute and Dodington agreed to commence the paper-war against Pitt,—by putting forth small pamphlets and hand-bills, and "runners," as they were termed at that time. "We wished," adds Dodington, "to have 1761.

* This conversation was repeated to Dodington by Bute himself. Diary, February 2. 1761.

† Dodington's Diary, November 29. 1760.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

"some coffee-house spies, but I do not know how "to contrive it."*

The course of policy which Bute had secretly in view, and by which he hoped to recommend himself, was to disentangle England from Continental connections. He thought that to withdraw our troops from Hanover would either effect a peace or enable us to carry on the war much cheaper. But it deserves attention,—as displaying the true character of the man,—that the hesitation which Bute felt as to this scheme appears to have rested not on national but solely on party grounds. Other Ministers might have apprehended the ruin of the King of Prussia,—the severing of alliances already contracted,—the relinquishing of advantages already gained. The sole alarm of Bute was, lest others should be beforehand with him,—lest Pitt or Newcastle might be even now intent on the very same scheme! Of this possibility he spoke more than once, with gloomy foreboding, to Dodington. But one day he came to his friend in high exultation: "I am now sure," he cried, "that Pitt has no "thoughts of abandoning the Continent. He is "madder than ever!"†

During these cabals (how unworthy the nation which had so lately achieved such high pre-

* Diary, January 2. and 9. 1761.

† Dodington's Diary, January 16. 1761. The reader will join in my regret that this interesting record should close at this interesting period; the last entry is dated February 6. 1761.

eminence in arms!) the Parliament was still sitting, engaged in the needful business previous to its Dissolution. Some dissatisfaction was excited by a new duty of three shillings per barrel imposed on beer and ale; indeed, some clamours on the subject, amounting nearly to a riot, met the ear of the King himself, when he went in state to the play-houses. But another measure at the close of the Session, coming straight from His Majesty, was hailed with unmingled and well-merited applause. By an Act of William the Third the commissions of the Judges were to be drawn,—no longer as during the King's pleasure,—but as during their own good behaviour; still, however, their offices determined upon the demise of the Crown,—or at the close of the subsequent six months. This state of the law fell naturally under consideration when on George the Third's accession new commissions were accordingly granted to the Judges. On the 3d of March it was recommended to Parliament in a Royal Speech to provide that the Judges' commissions should in future continue, notwithstanding any demise of the Crown, and their salaries be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions. This noble improvement (as Blackstone terms it) was unanimously passed, thus guarding in a further and most effectual manner the entire independence of the Judges, and the upright administration of Justice.

At the close of this Session Speaker Onslow

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

announced his intention of retiring, both from the Chair and from the House. During three and thirty years had he filled that Chair with higher merit, probably, than any one either before or after him,—with unequalled impartiality, dignity, and courtesy. All statesmen judge wisely for their reputation (even were that the only object) in seeking to interpose some interval between active life and the grave; and Onslow, retiring with a temper yet even and with energies still unimpaired, carried with him into privacy the respect and regret of all. A vote was passed, acknowledging his services in the fullest terms, and another entreating the Crown to grant him some signal mark of its favour. (This pointed to a pension of 3,000*l.* a year.) "I was never," said Onslow, in reply to the former vote, "under so great a difficulty in "my life to know what to say in this place as I "am at present. Indeed it is almost too much "for me. I can stand against misfortunes and "distresses; I have stood against misfortunes and "distresses, and may do so again; but I am not "able to stand this overflow of goodwill and "honour to me; it overpowers me. . . . . And "now, Sirs, I am to take my last leave of you. "It is, I confess, with regret, because the being "within these walls has ever been the chief "pleasure of my life."* In that pleasure, I may

* Commons Journals, vol. xxviii. p. 1108. Onslow survived his retirement till the year 1768, and the age of seventy-seven. His son was created Baron Cranley, succeeded his cousin as Baron Onslow, and was in 1801 promoted to an Earldom.

observe in passing, lies probably the secret of his pre-eminent success.—Horace Walpole, who was present on this last occasion, writes: "The Speaker did not "overact, and it was really a handsome scene."*

On the 21st of March the Parliament was dissolved by a Proclamation; and the Gazette of the same day announced several changes in the Ministry. The Duke of Bedford, having resigned the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, was succeeded by the Earl of Halifax. Legge, who had incurred the enmity of Bute from a former trifling difference on an election in Hampshire, ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington, stepping into his place, Charles Townshend into Lord Barrington's, and Sir Francis Dashwood into Charles Townshend's, as Treasurer of the Chambers. Both Townshend and Dashwood had of late attached themselves to the chariot-wheels of Bute; a fact which sufficiently explains their promotion.—A less important alteration had taken place a few weeks before, when Robert, Baron Henley, the Lord Keeper, was raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor. But the master-change, and the key to all the other changes, was reserved till a few days afterwards. On the 25th of March the Gazette made known to the world that His Majesty had been pleased to appoint the Earl of Bute one of his Secretaries of State,—Holderness being the Minister removed.

* To G. Montagu, March 21. 1761.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

It was reported at the time, in explanation of this change, and as a saying of the King, that he was tired of having two Secretaries, of whom the one would do nothing, and the other could do nothing; he would have a Secretary who both could act and would. This saying is so far more epigrammatic than any known to have proceeded from George the Third that we may be permitted to distrust its authenticity. It points, however, at the certain fact, that Pitt had for some time past seemed dissatisfied, moody, and estranged. Neither Pitt nor Holderness himself had received any notice of the contemplated change as to the Seals until that change was matured, and on the very point of execution. Holderness, however, had little reason to complain; transferred from an office of business, for which he was unfit, to a rich place for life,—that is, receiving the reversion, after the infirm Duke of Dorset, of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, with a salary of 4,000*l.* a year. To soften Pitt, in like manner, his kinsman, James Grenville, was promoted from a Lordship of the Treasury to the lucrative post of Cofferer of the Household. Such a concession was not likely to have much weight with such a statesman as Pitt. It must, however, be owned, that on this occasion he showed none of that haughty impracticability with which he has been often and not unjustly charged. He patiently endured the want of confidence, indicated by the removal or the appointment of colleagues without his previous knowledge. But he was determined

to allow no infringement of his province,—to direct with full powers both the war and the negotiations,—and to resign his office sooner than sacrifice his judgment. 1761.

Nearly at the same time as the Dissolution of Parliament was announced a creation of Peers. Three Baronets of old descent, Grosvenor, Irby, and Curzon, became Barons. Bubb Dodington, to his unbounded delight, found himself Lord Melcombe, and Sir Thomas Robinson Lord Grantham. The Earl of Bute was of course not forgotten; an English Barony was bestowed upon the Countess, whose admirable conduct and character in private life are warmly acknowledged even by her husband's political opponents: "She is one of the best and "most sensible women in the world," writes Horace Walpole, "and though educated by such a mother, "or rather with no education at all, she has never "made a false step."* A touching tribute to her memory has been lately paid by her own most accomplished and still surviving though nearly nonagenarian daughter.†

The Elections which took place during March and April were not marked by any out-burst of popular feeling. So hushed had been the old invectives of party during Pitt's administration,—so faint were as yet the new,—that scarce any war-cry remained to the contending factions, and that

* To Sir H. Mann, January 27. 1761.

† Introductory Anecdotes, Lord Wharncliffe's edition of Lady M. W. Montagu's Works, vol. i. p. 21.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

the contests turned on persons rather than on principles. For that very reason, however, no previous General Election had been marked by greater venality. The sale of boroughs to any wide extent may be dated from this period.* One borough went so far as to advertise publicly for a buyer; this was Sudbury, which seems in modern times to have in no degree declined from its ancient reputation. An abominable practice likewise arose, of evading the penalties of bribery by a simulated sale of trifling articles at exorbitant prices. This subterfuge of corruption has not escaped its contemporary,—the modern Aristophanes. "When "I first took up my freedom," says the elector, in Foote, "I could get but thirty guineas for a new "pair of jack-boots, whilst my neighbour over the "way had a fifty pound note for a pair of wash-"leather breeches!"†

The exact order of time would now lead me to the progress of the war, and to the negotiations for peace, but these I pass by for the present, to conclude the domestic transactions of the new reign. On the 8th of July an extraordinary Privy Council was held; all the Members in or near town having been summoned, without distinction of office or of party, to meet, as was declared, "on the most urgent and "important business." The object, it was concluded on all sides, (so carefully had the secret

* Hallam's Constit. Hist., vol. iii. p. 402.

† The Nabob, act ii.

been kept) was, to ratify or reject the treaty with France. It proved,—to declare a Queen. His Majesty announced to the Council his intended marriage with Charlotte, second sister of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a House of ancient lineage, and of tried Protestant principles. Of the Princess herself, who was scarcely seventeen, and not remarkable for beauty, little as yet was or could be known. On one occasion, however, she had manifested a sense and spirit beyond her years. When the territories of her cousin, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, had been entered and laid waste by the King of Prussia's troops, she had addresed a letter to that monarch, entreating his forbearance. Frederick was so well pleased with this firm yet modest appeal as to send it over to George the Second, and it is said to have formed one of the motives for the choice of George the Third.*

The character of this Princess in after life,—as Queen Consort of England for fifty-seven years,—

* The original German may be seen in Preuss, (Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 186.) "I know, Sir," she says, "that "in this vicious and subtilising age, I may be laughed at for "allowing my heart to mourn my country's ruin, to deplore "the evils of war, and to wish with all my soul for the "return of peace. You, Sir, will perhaps think that I ought "rather to practise myself in the arts of pleasing, or in my "household affairs. But be this as it may, my heart feels so "much for these poor unhappy people that it cannot withhold "a pressing entreaty in their behalf."—A translation (but not quite accurate) of the whole letter is given in the Annual Register, 1761, part i. p. 207.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

confirmed the soundness of the judgment which had raised her to that rank. An ever present, yet unostentatious piety,—to the King an affectionate reverence,—to her children an unremitting care,—prudence, economy, good sense, and good temper,—were amongst her excellent qualities. Pure and above all reproach in her own domestic life, she knew how to enforce at her Court the virtues, or, at the very least, the semblance of the virtues, which she practised. To no other woman, probably, had the cause of good morals in England ever owed so deep an obligation.—How pleasing the picture of one of her Sunday forenoons, as drawn by one of her attendants! "This morning, before Church, as I entered "Her Majesty's Dressing-room, I found her reading "aloud some religious book, but I could not dis-"cover what, to the three eldest Princesses. . . . . "I did not execute my task very expeditiously, "for I was glad of this opportunity of witnessing "the maternal piety with which she enforced, "in voice and expression, every sentence that con-"tained any lesson that might be useful to her "Royal daughters. She reads extremely well; "with great force, clearness, and meaning."* —Such, indeed, were Her Majesty's domestic habits and simplicity of tastes,—as also her Royal Consort's,—that they bordered on a fault; they led both her and him to prefer a life of rural seclusion, with few attendants, and no visitors,—as though

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary, August 6. 1786, vol. iii. p. 57.

the King had been really what he was sometimes nicknamed, "Farmer George,"—as though Royal state were not among the duties and obligations of a Royal station! To this defect,—if so we are to term it,—of Queen Charlotte, I may add, that, excepting her own skill upon the harpsichord, she had no taste or knowledge of the arts; that her reading was not remarkable for its range, nor her manner for its grace. Yet how slight and trivial appear these objections when weighed against the undeviating virtues, the long and truly venerable career, of this illustrious lady!

1761.

The form of announcement to the Privy Council having been duly gone through at St. James's, Earl Harcourt was despatched to Strelitz on another form,—a public demand of the Princess in marriage. The Duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton and the Countess of Effingham were likewise sent over to attend upon the person of their future sovereign. A Royal yacht, the "Carolina," was appointed to convey her, its name being first with much solemnity, and in the presence of all the Lords of the Admiralty, altered to the "Charlotte;" and the fleet that was to serve as escort was commanded by Anson himself. Earl Harcourt was received at Strelitz with most respectful and most irksome politeness; his Lordship never being suffered to stir from his apartments without a body guard of picked men to attend him. The contract of marriage having been signed in state, the Princess proceeded on her journey amidst great public re-

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

joicings in the towns both of Mecklenburg and Hanover, until Cuxhaven, where Her Highness embarked for England. The voyage proved unfavourable, and disturbed by three different storms; her yacht being often in sight of the English coast, and often in danger of being driven on that of Norway. During this irksome navigation she amused herself by playing and singing to her harpsichord, and practising English tunes. At length, on the 6th of September, and at Harwich, she set foot on English ground. On the 8th she arrived at St. James's. The King met her in the garden, and when she would have fallen at his feet prevented and embraced her. That same afternoon they were married in the Chapel Royal by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the ensuing day their Majesties held a crowded drawing-room, and gave a splendid ball. Horace Walpole, who was present, thus describes her: "She is not "tall, nor a beauty; pale, and very thin; but "looks sensible, and is genteel."* And in another letter he adds: "She has done nothing but with "good-humour and cheerfulness. She talks a "great deal; is easy, civil, and not disconcerted. "Her French is tolerable."†

The Coronation of both their Majesties followed on the 22d of September. Never had there been greater eagerness among all classes of the people to

* To Sir H. Mann, September 10. 1761.

† To the Hon. H. Conway, September 9. 1761.

behold the gorgeous pageant. Thus the platform from St. Margaret's round-house to the church door, which, at George the Second's Coronation, had been let for 40*l.*, produced at this no less than 2,400*l.* Thus, also, any disguise, however humble, was readily assumed as a passport of admission. A gentleman present writes as follows to his friend in the country: "I should tell you that a rank of "foot-soldiers was placed on each side within the "platform; and it was not a little surprising to see "the officers familiarly conversing, and walking "arm-in-arm with many of them, till we were let "into the secret, that they were gentlemen who "had put on the dresses of common soldiers."* It has been said,—a rumour which I am not able either to confirm or to deny,—that, mingled among the spectators, in another disguise, stood the ill-fated pretender to that day's honours,—Charles Edward Stuart. The solemn rite in Westminster Abbey, and the stately banquet in Westminster Hall,—when a Dymoke, clad in full armour, and mounted on the same white horse which George the Second had rode at Dettingen, asserted, as Champion, the King's right against all gainsayers, and flung down his iron gauntlet in defiance,—were equally admired for their magnificence. To close observers, however, more than one little error or omission was here and there apparent. When the King complained of these to the Earl of Effingham,

* See Annual Register, 1761, part i. p. 230.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

the Deputy Earl Marshal, Effingham replied, it was true there had been great neglect in his office, but he had now taken such good care, and given such prudent directions, that the next Coronation would be conducted with the greatest possible order. Far from being offended, the King was so amused at this reply that he made the Earl repeat it several times.* Yet to us, at this distance of time, there seems something mournful in the thought,—how few, if any, among the myriads who gazed upon this Coronation, survived to gaze upon the next!

From these courtly pageants,—from the safe challenges of a pacific Champion,—I must now revert to the stern realities of war.—At the opening of this campaign, Frederick, with every exertion, found his resources well nigh exhausted, and himself scarcely able to cope with the still thickening phalanx of his foes. While he lay encamped in Silesia with but 50,000 men, a force of 60,000 Russians under Butturlin was advancing against him; and, from another quarter, a force of 70,000 Austrians under Laudohn. In Saxony Prince Henry was kept in check by Marshal Daun; in Pomerania, another Russian army was marching to the siege of Colberg. Under such circumstances the main object with Frederick was to hinder the intended junction of Butturlin and Laudohn, and he did, in fact, by some masterly manœuvres, delay

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, September 28. 1761.

it during several weeks. When it became inevitable he threw himself into the intrenched camp of Bunzelwitz, almost within the range of Schweidnitz guns, where he might defy attack, restrain the enemy from sieges, and expect till the want of food and forage should compel them to separate for subsistence. He also sent forward a light detachment under General Platen to surprise and destroy the Russian magazines in Poland; a bold scheme, attended with complete success. Meanwhile his own troops were but indifferently supplied; they had regular rations of bread from the granaries of Schweidnitz, but scarce any meat or vegetables; they began to murmur at this prison fare, and surnamed their new position HUNGERS-LAGER, the "camp of famine." The result, however, fully justified the skill of their commander. Laudohn and Butturlin found that while the Prussian monarch was thus posted they could neither assail him nor yet maintain themselves. Thus in the course of September they again divided, the Russians marching back across the Oder to join their countrymen in Pomerania, and the Austrians remaining quiet in their camp. Frederick hoped to dislodge them, and to clear the province of all invaders, by descending from his lines, and threatening Laudohn in the rear. But this movement exposed him to a most daring and most dexterous enterprise from the Austrian chief. In the night of the 1st of October (which proved dark and

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

lowering) four Austrian divisions, advancing with stealthy tread, crept unperceived close under the four principal outworks of Schweidnitz. Without firing a shot, but fixing their bayonets or drawing their swords, they rushed into the covered way, stormed the outworks, cutting down the handful of guards or sentinels on duty, and then proceeded to wade through the main fosse, and to scale the principal wall. General Zastrow, the governor of the place, had that night given a ball to his officers, and relaxed in his precautions. The garrison, 4,000 strong, was alarmed too late, and, notwithstanding a most gallant resistance on some points, was overpowered. Within three hours, and before day-break, the enemy was in full possession of this strong fortress, the bulwark of Silesia, which in 1758 it had cost the Prussians several months of blockade and thirteen days of open trenches to subdue.

This great military exploit,—the greatest, according to Voltaire, that was achieved during the whole course of the war *,—gained Laudohn neither approbation nor rewards from the Court of Vienna. For the sake of secrecy and despatch,—both essential to his object,—he had attempted it without the knowledge of the Aulic Council or

* "Si je n'etais pas guéri des vers je crois que j'en ferais "pour M. de Laudohn. La prise de Schweidnitz me parait la "plus belle action de toute la guerre." Lettre au Marquis de Chauvelin, le 25 Octobre 1761.

the Empress, and this breach of official forms could scarce be palliated by victory. It required the personal interposition of the Emperor to shield the victor from a public reproof!—On the other hand, Frederick received the disastrous tidings with philosophic calmness. "It is a heavy blow," said he; "we must endeavour to retrieve it." And he wrote to General Zastrow: "We may "now say, as Francis the First in his letter after "the battle of Pavia, ALL IS LOST EXCEPT OUR "HONOUR. As I cannot yet comprehend what has "happened to you I shall suspend my judgment: "the thing is very extraordinary."

The capture of Schweidnitz enabled the Austrians, for the first time since the war, to take up their winter-quarters in Silesia. Meanwhile, in the north, the Prussian arms were threatened with another calamity, as great, though not as sudden. Since midsummer the fortress of Colberg had been closely blockaded by the Russians both by land and sea. Frederick had made many but unavailing attempts to relieve it, by two of his Generals, Platen and Knobloch; and its Governor, Colonel Heyde, who had repulsed the enemy in the former siege, again behaved most bravely in this, but at length, hopeless of succour, and destitute of food, he was compelled to surrender after a six months siege. By this means the Russian army could winter in Pomerania, as the Austrian in Silesia, and thus was Frederick pent

CHAP. XXXVII.

1761.

up within narrow bounds, like some wild beast of the forest, at length brought to bay and surrounded in its lair. It is remarkable that this year, in which no pitched battle had been fought, proved far more fatal to his arms than even 1759, marked by so many disasters in the open field; then his power could not be struck down; now it seemed crumbling away. A contemporary, writing even before the loss of Schweidnitz and Colberg, calculates the chances of his ruin as three to one.* Another, in London, observes that "in the situation in which "he stood after the taking of Colberg we may "safely say that there was scarcely a possibility "that he could be preserved from destruction by "any thing that lay within the reach of human "endeavours."† Yet the Monarch himself, taking up his residence for this winter at Breslau, showed himself not merely calm, but cheerful, losing no time in lamentations, and thinking only how he could most largely extend and most usefully employ his remaining resources.

The campaign of Prince Ferdinand against the French had commenced before the close of winter.

* "Si on voulait parier, il faudrait dans la regle des proba-"bilités parier trois contre un, que *Luc* sera perdu avec ses "vers et ses plaisanteries, ses injures et sa politique; tout cela "étant egalement mauvais." (Voltaire au Duc de Choiseul, le 13 Juillet 1761.) *Luc* was the nickname given to Frederick by Voltaire, from a concealed and malignant allusion which I cannot venture to explain.

† Ann. Regist. 1761, part. i. p. 37.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

Early in February he secretly drew together his troops, and suddenly assailed the enemy's along their whole line in the territories of Hanover and Hesse. So unlooked for and so well-concerted was this enterprise that it succeeded on all points; the Duke de Broglie and his army being driven back in confusion towards the Mayn. In their way the Hanoverian General, Sporken, gained a considerable advantage over them at Langensaltze, and all their magazines, provided for the coming campaign, were either destroyed by themselves or fell into the hands of the Allies. But before their retreat they had left large garrisons both in Göttingen and Cassel; and to the siege of the latter Prince Ferdinand now applied himself. He encountered great difficulties from a brave defence, and from the wintry season. Moreover, the Duke de Broglie had now recovered from his first surprise, had rallied his troops, and was resuming the offensive. Of the two Princes of Brunswick he worsted the nephew in an action at Stangerode, and compelled the uncle to raise the siege of Cassel after twenty-seven days of open trenches. Thus within a few weeks both armies quietly resumed their first positions. It may be added that in these operations the English and Hanoverian army had for auxiliaries a division of Prussians, and the French (though already much superior) several regiments of Saxons fighting for the liberation of their country under Prince Xavier, a son of their King.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

The destruction of the French magazines prevented any renewal of hostilities on their part until nearly the close of June. At that period, however, the Prince de Soubise pushed forward with one division from the Rhine, and the Duke de Broglie with the other from Cassel,—both marching in the direction of Munster,—both intending to join, and give battle to Prince Ferdinand. De Broglie, in his way falling in with a post of General Sporken, took from him 800 prisoners and nineteen pieces of cannon. The Duke and the Prince effected their junction through the forest of Teutenburg, while the Allies maintained the line in front of the river Lippe.—This very ground, over which modern warfare was thus spreading, had in days of old been the scene of a renowned barbaric triumph,—here had Varus and his legions been overpowered by Arminius,—or rather let me call him according to his true name, Herman,—here the forest of Teutenburg still retains the same appellation which Tacitus has recorded,—here Roman coins and remains of Roman arms continue to be found.*

It may well be supposed that the French chiefs in the midst of their campaign were but little intent on such recollections. They found Prince Ferdinand encamped in a strong position

* Compare Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 154., with Brotier's note to Tacitus, Annal. lib. i. c. 61.

between the Aest and the Lippe, and near the village of Kirch-Denkern; his left wing commanded by the Marquis of Granby, and his centre by General Conway. In the evening of the 15th of July De Broglie, eager to engross the honours of a victory, assailed Lord Granby's wing with his division, but was bravely withstood and driven back. Next morning before daybreak the attack was resumed by Soubise. It was fortunate, perhaps, for the Allies, considering their inferiority of numbers, that the jealousy between the enemy's chiefs prevented a more regular and effectual concert in their operations; as it was, the French were repulsed with a loss estimated, no doubt with some exaggeration, at 5,000 men, while that of the Allies was less than 1,500. In these skirmishes both Prince Ferdinand and Lord Granby were distinguished by their high spirit and gallantry; and the former, in his General Orders of the next day, paid a well-merited compliment to the brave Scottish clansmen: "The soldier-like perseverance of the "Highland battalions in resisting and repulsing "the repeated attacks of the chosen troops of "France has deservedly gained them the highest "honour."

Notwithstanding their check at Kirch-Denkern the French were enabled, almost immediately afterwards, to resume the offensive. One of their detachments reduced the town of Wolfenbüttel, another the town of Embden. But these losses

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

were retrieved or balanced by the skill of Ferdinand; and the close of the campaign found the contending armies in nearly the same positions as at first. Meanwhile De Broglie and Soubise were angrily accusing each other in memorials and despatches to the Court of Versailles. Soubise stood as high in the Royal favour as De Broglie in the confidence of the army; thus the latter found himself recalled from his command, and exiled to his estates, amidst the most unequivocal tokens of public sympathy.*

At this period the destinies of France,—subject always to Madame de Pompadour,—were swayed by the Duke de Choiseul. Quick talents, prompt application, and personal vanity,—far more of courage than of constancy,—an equal readiness to engage in or to recede from any arduous enterprise,—such were the characteristics of this statesman. On his first accession to power he had strained his own energies, and the nation's, to prosecute the war with spirit and success. He had failed in these endeavours; he beheld France on every side defeated, stripped of her fleets, her colonies, her commerce, and compelled to announce a bank-

* "On jouait Tancrède au Theatre Français, le jour où l'on "apprit l'exil de Broglie, et les applaudissemens fanatiques "donnés à ces deux vers,—

"On depouille Tancrède, on l'exile, on l'outrage,
"C'est le sort d'un héros d'être persecuté,—

"montrèrent assez que tout le public lui en faisait l'application." (Sismondi, vol. xxix. p. 248.)

ruptcy to several classes of her public creditors. He found, moreover, discord reviving at home,— fresh animosities ready to burst into flame between the King and the Parliaments, as also between the heads of the Church and of the Law. He found the Austrian alliance, and the war resulting with it, daily more unpopular; it was the common saying, that the nation was ruined for the sake of her ancient enemy. All these circumstances combined made the Duke de Choiseul desirous of peace. Early in the year he had induced the Courts of Petersburg and Vienna to join the Court of Versailles in a public Declaration, stating their readiness to treat, and inviting plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers to a Congress at Augsburg. England and Prussia gladly acquiesced in this proposal, and plenipotentiaries were immediately named; ours being the Earl of Egremont, Lord Stormont, Ambassador at Warsaw, and Sir Joseph Yorke, Ambassador at the Hague. But it seemed to Choiseul that a separate and previous negotiation between France and England would afford the best hope to settle the Colonial questions depending between those two powers, and to succeed in an European pacification. With this view he despatched M. de Bussy, as his negotiator, to London, while Pitt despatched to Paris Mr. Hans Stanley, grandson of the famous physician, Sir Hans Sloane, and at this time a Lord of the Admiralty.

It was the beginning of June before these two

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

envoys reached their respective destinations. Bussy appears to have been a froward and petulant man, who early became disgusted with his mission.* Mr. Stanley is described by Lady Hervey as "ingenious, sensible, knowing, and honest†," and his industry and activity are apparent from his own despatches. Even on his journey, and even on matters unconnected with his mission, he lost no opportunity of acquiring useful information. Thus, at St. Omer, he ascertained the precise number of British and Irish students at the College of Jesuits; it was in that year 260.‡

The following is one of his sketches of the French Court: "Since the affair of Damiens the King has "never been easy in his mind. If, when he is "hunting, or on any occasion, he meets a person "whom he is not used to see, he starts, and is "extremely agitated. The Jesuits are charged by "the vulgar as promoters of that attempt. The "Dauphin is esteemed much attached to that "society, which does not make him beloved, as "they are generally hated. . . . The Minister is a "man of lively parts, but no education for busi-"ness; frank enough in talk, meaning often what

* Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, June 28. 1761. See Appendix.

† To Mr. Morris, January 7. 1755.

‡ To Mr. Pitt, Senlis, June 3. 1761. The whole of this diplomatic correspondence is printed by Mr. Thackeray with most tedious fulness,—partly in his text (vol. i. p. 510—579), and partly in his Appendix (vol. ii. p. 507—632).

" he says at the time, but fickle; very indiscreet; " treats all affairs, and with the highest, as matters " of jest. He has got a credit with the King " quite independent of the lady (De Pompadour). " He treats her often very slightly, — sometimes " roughly tells her she is handsome as an angel " when she talks of affairs; and bid her throw a " MEMOIRE the other day into the fire!"*

The negotiation thus begun continued with great activity during many weeks. Choiseul was prepared for large sacrifices; even in his first overture, dated the 26th of March, he had offered to yield the pretensions of France upon Cape Breton, Guadaloupe, Goree, and many posts in the East Indies, and probably Canada also, but retaining in the first instance Minorca and Göttingen. The precise proposal which he made was, that each party should remain possessed (subject to exchanges and equivalents) of whatever territory it might hold in Europe on the ensuing 1st of May, in the West Indies and Africa on the 1st of July, and in the East Indies on the 1st of September. Pitt, however, demurred to these dates, maintaining that the day on which the treaty should be signed was the proper period for the UTI POSSIDETIS. His motive was to gain time for the projected conquest of Belleisle, which was then to be tendered as an equivalent for the restitution of Minorca.

* To Mr. Pitt, June 9. 1761.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

Belleisle,—a barren rock off the iron-bound coast of Brittany,—is about twelve leagues in circumference, and contained at this time about 5,000 people, mostly poor fishermen. Its reduction would be of slight advantage to England, but, as Pitt foresaw, of signal humiliation to France. An armament was accordingly sent against it;—9,000 troops under General Hodgson, and several ships of war under Commodore Keppel. On the 8th of April the troops attempted a landing, but partly from the ruggedness of the coast, and partly from the bravery of the defence, were repulsed, with a loss of 500 men. Pitt was apprised of their disaster, but his was not a spirit to acquiesce in it; he sent them some reinforcements, and positive orders to persevere. Their next attempt, on the 25th, was directed to the bay of Locmaria, on the south-east of the island,—an even stronger point, but less vigilantly guarded. Here, a detachment having climbed the almost inaccessible precipice, they made good their landing, and proceeded to invest the French Governor, the Chevalier de St. Croix, in his fortress of Palais. The French on the mainland, having no naval force to set against the English, could afford no aid to the garrison, but it made a most resolute resistance. One night the besiegers were surprised in their trenches by a vigorous sally; their General on duty, Craufurd, with his two aides-de-camp, were made prisoners, and several hundred of their men put to the sword. On another occa-

sion the English succeeded in storming the town, but, still undaunted, the besieged retired into the citadel, and continued to hold out. It was not till the 7th of June that they were reduced to capitulate, even then obtaining most honourable terms, —to march through the breach with all the honours of war, and be transported without delay to the nearest ports of France. 1761.

The conquest of Belleisle had of course a favourable influence on the negotiations with France. Nor was other good news of the same kind wanting. In the West Indies an English officer, Lord Rollo, had, with slight effort, reduced the little island of Dominica. In the East, the French commander, M. de Lally, had surrendered, with Pondicherry, the last and chief of their strong holds. It is remarkable that the intelligence of the taking of Pondicherry reached Paris on the same day as that of the victory at Kirch-Denkern; and, both combined, says Mr. Stanley, produced a far greater impression than would have resulted from their coming singly.*

Nevertheless, the Ministers of Louis the Fifteenth (for of Louis the Fifteenth himself we need take little account) continued to urge several inadmissible conditions.—They denied that Belleisle was a just equivalent for Minorca, and asked for Guadaloupe, claiming Belleisle also, in return for their con-

* Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, Paris, July 30. 1761.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

quests in Germany.—They claimed the restoration of Cape Breton, or, at least, the privilege of fishery along its coasts.—They wished England to give them back, at its option, either Senegal or Goree. —They demurred to the demolition of some new works at Dunkirk, in compliance with the Treaty of Utrecht.—They demanded the restitution of all captures at sea made by England previous to the declaration of war.—Still more important was the question that arose respecting the interests of Germany. The Duke de Choiseul was willing to withdraw the troops of France, but urged, in return, that, whatever succours might be sent in money, no man from Prince Ferdinand's army should be permitted to reinforce the Prussian ranks. Yet Pitt, in his very first reply to Choiseul's overtures, had explicitly declared, that if, unhappily, the General Congress should fail in producing a general pacification, King George would not be restrained by any separate peace with France from extending most effectual aid to his good brother and ally of Prussia.—On all these points (except as to the restoring of Guadaloupe) Pitt continued to maintain his ground. It was his fixed resolve, —as he had declared it on a former occasion,— that, so long as he held the reins of power, "no "Peace of Utrecht shall again stain the annals of "England!"* Yet the expressions which he used

* Letter to A. Mitchell, Esq. June 12. 1759.

in his denials were sometimes so haughty and imperious that they might, I fear, deservedly be reckoned among the obstacles in this negotiation.* 1761.

It seems probable, however, nay, nearly certain, that the Court of Versailles, considering its long train of reverses in the war, would have finally yielded every one of the points at issue, but for its new connexion, which arose about this time, with the Court of Madrid.—Ever since the accession of Charles the Third, the Spanish counsels had been verging more and more towards the French. The times had passed, it was said, when the Kings of Spain and of France could be rivals; they were now near kinsmen, and their interest, rightly understood, was the same. A Monarch of the House of Bourbon should regard the Head of that House as his natural ally. Let but the members of that great Family combine, and they might defy all other enmity, and present a firm front to the rest of the world!—Such maxims, undoubtedly specious, however far from sound, had already more than once, though but at intervals, prevailed at Madrid since the reign of the Bourbon dynasty. It was the very danger which had all along been foreseen from that reign; it was the danger against which Somers and Godolphin had contended in council and debate; against which Marlborough had fought in Flanders, and Stanhope in Spain. The commence-

* This is cautiously but clearly hinted even to himself by Mr. Stanley. See in the Appendix his letter dated August 26. 1761.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

ment of the War of the Succession was never yet so fully vindicated as by the conclusion of the Family Compact.

But besides the motives which inclined the King of Spain to an alliance with his Royal kinsman, he also conceived himself to have numerous and just causes of complaint against England. During the war with France the Spanish flag had not always been respected by the British cruisers. In such cases there was sometimes slow redress in London, and always great exaggeration at Madrid. In the midst of the rankling resentments which these private interests called forth, and which maritime jealousy envenomed, both the Americas, North and South, added largely to the stock of grievances. From the South there came the ever recurring complaints of illicit traffic with the Spanish Colonists. From the North there was an intricate controversy on the construction of an article in the Treaty of Utrecht, and the claims of the Basque provinces to a share in the Newfoundland fishery. All these points were discussed at great length, but with little result, between General Wall, the Spanish Premier, and the Earl of Bristol, the British Ambassador. Nor was the Conde de Fuentes, who represented the Court of Madrid at St. James's, more successful in his interviews with Pitt. Of these differences, growing wider and wider as time proceeded, the French were skilful to avail themselves. A close intimacy sprung up between

CHAP. XXXVII.

1761.

the Duke de Choiseul and the Marquis Grimaldi, who was at that time the Spanish Ambassador at Paris. Through this channel the French statesman insinuated every topic of aggravation. He represented the English as the tyrants of the seas,—as the natural enemies of every maritime and commercial power. Nor did the former lures,—the restoration of Minorca or the recovery of Gibraltar,—remain idle in his hands. He referred privately to the Catholic King every step of the negotiations between France and England, and by pretending to consult, in reality guided his judgment, obtaining at length an entire concert and union in all their public measures.

Elated with this success, the Duke de Choiseul visibly slackened in his readiness of concessions to England. More than once he had hinted to Mr. Stanley, that, if the negotiations should fail, France would be enabled to continue the war with new allies. Now, however, he resolved to overawe, if possible, his adversary; to convince Pitt beyond all question, and by some overt act, of the cordial feeling between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. Accordingly while a French Memorial of Propositions was transmitted to Pitt through M. de Bussy, another French Memorial on Spanish affairs, dated July 15. was adjoined. This Memorial expresses the wish that the reconciliation resulting from the proposed Treaty might not be liable to be interrupted by the interests of any third power; it states the demands of Spain as

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

three; first, the restitution of the captures made during the present war upon the Spanish flag; secondly, the privilege of fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland; thirdly, the demolition of the English settlements made upon the Spanish territories in the bay of Honduras; and it urges an adjustment of these questions at the same time that the peace shall be concluded between the Courts of London and Versailles, which peace the King of Spain shall then be invited to guarantee.

So unusual a demand filled Pitt with the highest indignation. He replied as follows to M. de Bussy: "It is my duty to declare to you, in the "name of His Majesty, that he will not suffer the "disputes with Spain to be blended in any manner "whatever in the negotiation of peace between the "two Crowns; to which I must add, that it will "be considered as an affront to His Majesty's dig-"nity to make further mention of such a circum-"stance. Moreover it is expected that France "will not at any time presume a right of intermed-"dling in such disputes between Great Britain "and Spain."* In like manner Pitt wrote to Lord Bristol, declaring that His Majesty would by no means add facilities for the satisfaction of the Court of Spain in consequence of any announcement of union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions with the French;—that, of the three

* Mr. Pitt to M. de Bussy, July 24. 1761.

demands in the French Memorial, there were Courts of Law to give redress upon the first, the second was inadmissible, and the third was open to negotiations, but not through the channel of France. Lord Bristol was likewise instructed to demand a clear and categorical explanation of the armaments making in the Spanish ports.—When these representations were accordingly laid before the Court of Madrid, General Wall acknowledged that the French Memorial had been presented with the full consent of His Catholic Majesty, but he added a great number of pacific professions by which the British ambassador appears to have been completely blinded.*

The real object of Wall and his colleagues was, however, by no means peace, but only leisure to complete their preparations, and to receive in safety their galleons and treasure-ships from South America.—On the 15th of August,—at the very time when Lord Bristol was lending so ready an ear to their expressions of good-will and amity towards England,—Grimaldi and Choiseul signed the celebrated FAMILY COMPACT. By this treaty the Kings of France and Spain agreed for the future to consider every power as their enemy which might become the enemy of either, and to guarantee the respective dominions in all parts of the world which they might possess at the next

* See the diplomatic documents laid before Parliament, and printed in the Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 1129—1210.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

conclusion of peace. Mutual succours by sea and land were stipulated, and no proposal of peace to their common enemies was to be made, nor negotiation entered upon, unless by common consent. The subjects of each residing in the European dominions of the other were to enjoy the same commercial privileges as the natives. Moreover, the King of Spain stipulated the accession of his son, the King of Naples, to this alliance; but it was agreed that no prince or potentate, except of the House of Bourbon, should ever be admitted to its participation.*

Besides this treaty, which in its words at least applied only to future and contingent wars, and which was intended to be ultimately published, there was also signed on the same day a special and secret convention. This imported, that in case England and France should still be engaged in hostilities on the 1st of May 1762 Spain should on that day declare war against England, and that France should at the same period restore Minorca to Spain.†

The impolicy of this Compact, so far as Spain is concerned, scarcely stands in need of illustration. —A state which connects itself in an exclusive alliance for offence and defence with another state far more powerful than itself will inevitably be drawn into its orbit, and follow in its train; it will

* Martens, Recueil de Traités, vol. i. p. 16—28.

† Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vol. xxix. p. 242.

sink into a satellite; it will become what Portugal was once to England, or Tuscany to Austria. But even apart from this general consideration, how much had the Spaniards at that period to lose by a war with England! With their dominions so far greater than their resources,—with their colonies so widely scattered and so scantily defended,—with their fleets of treasure-ships, tempting alike from their wealth and from their weakness,—how much did they risk by wantonly engaging in hostilities against any great maritime power! Had they even been sure of success,—could they have certainly reckoned on recovering Gibraltar by a siege or Minorca by a treaty,—even these acquisitions might, perhaps, have been outweighed by the inevitable ruin of their reviving foreign trade, and the indefinite postponement of their most needed works at home. They would surely have done well to remember their own ingenious apologue on Courts of Law,—that as even the successful party in a suit may be stripped bare by its expenses, so even the victor in a war may not truly profit by its spoils!*

* In the great hall of the *Cancellaria*, or chief Court of Law at Granada, is a picture of a man naked, or "in leathers," as the Spaniards call it, with a large bundle of papers under his arm, and these words proceeding from his mouth:

"Yo que he ganado el pleyto
"Me quedo en cueros.
"Que sera del que lo ha perdido?"—

(I who won the suit am now stripped to the skin,—what then must be the fate of him who lost it?) See "A Summer in Andalusia, 1839." vol. i. p. 397.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

Not only the terms but the existence of a Family Compact were for some time kept scrupulously secret. Mr. Stanley, however, gleaned some information from the scattered hints of the Duke de Choiseul, and these were confirmed to Pitt from several other quarters. Thus the British Consul at Cadiz had even some time back apprised him of great preparations in the south of Spain, with the view of surprising Gibraltar on any sudden occasion.* But the precise details of the treaty, though not probably the Special Convention, were first, it appears, made known to Pitt by Lord Marischal. A pardon for this nobleman had in 1759 been solicited by the King of Prussia, and granted by the British Cabinet; he had accordingly returned on a transient visit to his native country, and been presented by Pitt to George the Second. His long residence in Spain, his intimate knowledge of the Spanish language and the Spanish diplomacy, gave him peculiar facilities for fathoming the secret designs of their Government, and of these designs he imparted to Pitt early and exact information.†

Thus forewarned, Pitt relinquished his hopes of peace. He had by this time received the ULTIMATUM of France, which yielded several of the points at issue, but still insisted on the neutrality in Germany, and on the restitution of the prizes. Upon these two grounds, and after consultation with his

* Mr. Goldworthy to Mr. Pitt, February 20. 1761. See Appendix.

† Thackeray's Life of Chatham, vol. i. p. 578.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1761.

colleagues, Pitt broke off the negotiations towards the middle of September, recalling Mr. Stanley from Paris, and dismissing M. de Bussy from London. But this was not enough; Pitt was bent on an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Once fully convinced of their hostile designs, why allow them further time for preparation?—why not have the first blow,—"which," (as Lord Chesterfield adds,) "is often half the battle?"* Such a course was not more recommended by its lofty spirit than by its calculating prudence. Such a course, far from adding to the expenses of the war, would in fact diminish them; the seizure of the Spanish treasure-ships and private merchantmen would be accomplished without any new armament or augmentation to the British navy, and would afford means for invading the Spanish colonies; so that our enemies would themselves defray the charge of the attacks on their own dominions!

"On this principle,"—said Chatham, in debate, many years afterwards,—"on this principle I submitted my advice for an immediate declaration of "war to a trembling Council."†—In truth, all his colleagues, with the single exception of his kinsman Lord Temple, were appalled at his boldness and adverse to his views. Even during the negotiation with France it was with difficulty that he had carried them along with him in the resolute and

* Letter to his son, November 21. 1761.

† Debate in the House of Lords, November 22. 1770.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

haughty tone which he adopted. Thus, for example, when his last letter to M. de Bussy, inveighing against the ill-faith of France, was in question, we find Lord Bute write to Pitt as follows: "I "have thought it my duty to state exactly to His "Majesty the opinion of this day's Cabinet. The "King has perused the draught, and desires the "letter may be sent to M. de Bussy. I must not, "however, conceal from you, that His Majesty "shows a great deal of concern at a matter of this "immense importance being carried by so slender "a majority, and has asked me several times, with "eagerness, why words were not chosen in which "all might have concurred. I do not remember "having seen so much agitation concerning any "question that has been before us."*

The question of a Spanish war, having been fruitlessly debated at two several Cabinets, was referred to a final meeting at the beginning of October. Here Pitt and Temple warmly pressed their proposal; but Newcastle, who had hitherto shrouded himself in a prudent neutrality, declared against it, and Bute pronounced it "rash and unadvisable." It was urged, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst we had already our hands as full as they could hold, was to overrate our national resources,—that whilst we were calling for new enemies no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new resource whatever,—

* To Mr. Pitt, August 14. 1761. Chatham Correspondence.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

that the Spaniards had not as yet yielded, beyond hope of recall, to French counsels,—that the despatches of our ambassador, Lord Bristol, expressed a confident belief in their pacific intentions.—Warmed by such opposition, Pitt exclaimed that this was the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon, and that if this opportunity were let slip it might never be recovered. He thanked the Ministers of the late King for the support which on former occasions they had given him; adding, that, for himself, he had been called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide.

The President of the Council, the veteran Earl Granville, replied to him nearly as follows: "I "find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor "can I say I am sorry for it, since he would other-"wise have certainly compelled us to leave him. "But if he be resolved to assume the right of "advising His Majesty, and directing the opera-"tions of the war, to what purpose are we called "to this Council?—When he talks of being re-"sponsible to the people he talks the language of "the House of Commons, and forgets that at this "Board he is only responsible to the King. How-"ever, though he may possibly have convinced "himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

"should be equally convinced before we can resign "our understandings to his direction, or join with "him in the measures he proposes."*

Pitt adhering to his first opinion, and having delivered his reasons in writing, on the 5th of October resigned his employment. In this course he was followed by Lord Temple. When on the same day he waited on his Sovereign to give up the Seals, he found the demeanour of the young King most kind and gracious. His Majesty expressed his concern at the loss of so able a servant, and offered him any reward in the power of the Crown to bestow, but declared that his own judgment was adverse to the sudden declaration of war, adding, that if even his Cabinet had been unanimous for it he should have felt the greatest difficulty in consenting. Pitt, who appears to have anticipated a different reception, was deeply touched by the King's cordiality of manner and expression. "I confess, Sir," said he, "I had but too much "reason to expect your Majesty's displeasure. I "did not come prepared for this exceeding good-"ness. Pardon me, Sir; it overpowers, it oppresses "me."—And he burst into tears.

* These expressions of Granville, and those of Pitt before him, in the same Council, are reported in the Annual Register, 1761. part i. p. 43. It is to be remembered, that, though published at the time, neither Granville nor Pitt ever denied their authenticity, and that Burke, who supplied them,—being then private Secretary to the Secretary for Ireland,—had excellent means of information.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1761.

Such then was the close of Pitt's justly renowned administration. Even amidst the full blaze of its glory there arose some murmurs at its vast expense;—the only objection of any weight, I think, that has ever been urged against it. Yet, as a shrewd observer writes at the time, "It has cost "us a great deal, it is true, but then we have had "success and honour for our money. Before "Mr. Pitt came in we spent vast sums only to "purchase disgrace and infamy."*—What number, I would ask, of pounds, of shillings, or of pence, could fairly represent the value of rousing the national spirit, and retrieving the national honour? Is it gold that can measure the interval between the lowest pitch of despondency and the pinnacle of triumph,—between the England of 1756 and the England of 1761?

Let me add, that in the closing act of this administration,—in proposing an immediate declaration of war against Spain,—Pitt did not urge any immature or ill-considered scheme. His preparations were already made to strike more than one heavy blow upon his enemy,—to capture the returning galleons,—and to take possession of the isthmus of Panama, thus securing a port in the Pacific, and cutting off all communication between the Spanish provinces of Mexico and Peru. Nor did his designs end here: these points once accomplished,—as they might have been with little

* Lady Hervey to Mr. Morris; Chevening, October 21. 1761.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1761.

difficulty,—he had planned an expedition against the Havanna, and another, on a smaller scale, against the Philippine islands. In none of these places could the means of resistance be compared to those of the French in Canada, while the means of aggression from England would be the same. Yet a few months, and the most precious provinces of Spain in the New World,—the brightest gems of her colonial empire,—might not improbably have decked the British Crown!—In reviewing designs so vast, pursued by a spirit so lofty, I can only find a parallel from amongst that nation which Pitt sought to humble;—I can only point to Cardinal Ximenes. This esemblance would be the less surprising, since Pitt, at the outset of his administration, had once, in conversation with Fox talked much of Ximenes, who, he owned, was his favourite character in History.*

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 214.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE retirement of Pitt from the administration left a complete and undisputed ascendency to Bute. It was now his Lordship's object to strengthen himself by large and powerful connections. The Privy Seal was kept in reserve for the Duke of Bedford, while the Seals of Secretary were bestowed upon the Earl of Egremont, who had been intended for plenipotentiary at the Congress of Augsburg, but who was chiefly remarkable as the son of Sir William Wyndham.—In public life I have seen full as many men promoted for their fathers' talents as for their own.

But the most pressing object with Lord Bute was to avert or soften the resentment which the removal of the Great Commoner might probably excite in the nation. As he writes to his friend Dodington at this juncture: "Indeed, my good "Lord, my situation, at all times perilous, is "become much more so, for I am no stranger to "the language held in this great city.—'Our "'darling's resignation is owing to Lord Bute,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1761.

"'who might have prevented it with the King,
"'and he must answer for all the consequences;'
"—which is, in other words, for the miscarriage
"of another's system, that he (Pitt) himself could
"not have prevented."*—Concurring with this motive in Lord Bute's own mind there was also, I doubt not, in the Royal breast a sincere anxiety to reward distinguished merit. Under these circumstances,—on the very day after Pitt's resignation,—Bute addressed a letter to him by the King's commands, declaring that His Majesty was desirous,—nay, "impatient,"—to confer on him some mark of his Royal favour. His Majesty, continued Bute, requests some insight into Mr. Pitt's own views and wishes, and meanwhile proposes to him either the government of Canada, combined with residence in England and a salary of 5,000*l.* a year, or the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, with as much of emolument and nearly as little of business. The reply of Pitt,—after a profusion of obsequious thanks,—states himself "too proud to
"receive any mark of the King's countenance and
"favour, but, above all, doubly happy could I see
"those dearer to me than myself comprehended in
"that monument of Royal approbation and good-
"ness with which His Majesty shall condescend
"to distinguish me."—In compliance with the hint thus given, a peerage was conferred on Lady

* To Lord Melcombe, October 8. 1761, printed in the Appendix to Mr. Adolphus's History of England.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1761.

Hester, by the title of Baroness Chatham, with remainder to her issue male, and a pension of 3,000*l.* a year was granted to Pitt for three lives; namely, his own, Lady Chatham's, and their eldest son's.*

For receiving such favours upon his resignation Pitt has been often and severely blamed. We should, however, recollect that they did not in any degree fetter his freedom, nor restrain him from censuring,—whenever he thought fit to censure,—the measures of the administration; they were rewards for services past, not retainers for services to come. Nor does it appear on what ground either peerages or pensions could be defended if those men most worthy of them are to be held debarred from their acceptance. But the same sincerity which inclines me to vindicate the transaction itself, compels me to say that I think Pitt's own letters on this subject, which have been of late made public, unduly pompous in their language, and yet, at the same time, unduly humble in their tone.

Another step of Pitt on his resignation, which seems wanting in good taste, was his public announcement of his seven coach-horses for sale. His acknowledged public integrity did not require, and should rather have disdained, that ostentatious proof.

* The five letters on this subject are printed in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 146—153.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1761.

The bestowal of the title and the pension on the retiring Minister fully attained the object which Lord Bute had in view. He was enabled in the same Gazette to insert, first, the resignation, next, the honours and rewards, and, lastly, a despatch from the Earl of Bristol, stating at large the favourable and pacific assurances of the Spanish Court. "These," says Burke, "were the barriers that were "opposed against that torrent of popular rage "which it was apprehended would proceed from "this resignation. And the truth is, they an-"swered their end perfectly; this torrent for some "time was beaten back, almost diverted into an "opposite course."* Only a few days afterwards Pitt found it necessary to publish a letter to his friend, Alderman Beckford, in which he complains of being "grossly misrepresented" and "infamously "traduced" in the City, and gives some explanations of his conduct. We find, from the correspondence of the time, that several men of cultivated minds, and lately warm admirers of Pitt,—Horace Walpole, and Gray the poet, for examples,—highly blamed his acceptance of the peerage and pension. "Oh that foolishest of great "men!" cries Gray.† "What!" cries Walpole, "to "blast one's character for the sake of a paltry "annuity and a long-necked peeress!"‡ Sir

* Annual Register 1761, part i. p. 45.

† Gray's Works, vol. iii. p. 265.

‡ To the Countess of Ailesbury, October 10. 1761.

Francis Delaval put the matter in another light. "Pitt," he said, "is a fool; if he had gone into the "City, told them he had a poor wife and children "unprovided for, and had opened a subscription, "he would have got 500,000*l.*, instead of 3,000*l.* a "year!" Ere long, however, truth and justice began to prevail over these exaggerated first impressions. In the City, the stronghold of Pitt's popularity, it rapidly revived. The Common Council voted him an Address of thanks for his public services, and instructed their representatives in Parliament to follow his line of politics. And when on the 9th of November,—the Lord Mayor's day,—the Royal Family went in state to dine at Guildhall, the thickest crowds, and the loudest acclamations, were not for the young King or the new Queen. Most eyes and most voices were turned from their Majesties' state-coach to Pitt's plain chariot and pair, containing himself and Lord Temple. We are told by an eye-witness, that at every step the mob clustered round his carriage, "hung upon the "wheels, hugged his footmen, and even kissed his "horses!"*

To parade such a triumph in the sight and to the depreciation of Royalty, partakes, I fear, a little of arrogance. Thus it appeared in Pitt's own deliberate opinion. Some years afterwards Alderman Beckford's letter of invitation was endorsed

* See a letter printed in the Annual Register, 1761, part i. p. 237.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1761.

by Lady Chatham as follows: "My Lord yielded "for his friend's sake, but, as he always declared, "both then and after, against his better judg- "ment."*

On the 3d of November the new Parliament met. The first business of the House of Commons was of course the election of a Speaker. When Onslow had resigned at the close of the preceding Session, the person designed as his successor was Mr. George Grenville, next brother to Lord Temple, and at this time Treasurer of the Navy.† No Member could be better qualified for the vacant Chair; he had a high and well-deserved character for worth in private life, legal knowledge (for he had been bred to the law), courteous manners, and unwearied assiduity. To him the forms of the House of Commons were not merely a duty or a business, but a source of exquisite pleasure. "He seemed," says Burke, "to have no delight "out of the House, except in such things as in "some way related to the business that was to "be done within it."‡ So much had his whole mind been cast in the mould of precedents and order that they had become to him almost a second nature. In the recent divisions of the Government he had estranged himself from his two kinsmen, and taken part actively with Bute.

* Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 165.

† "George Grenville is to be Speaker"—writes Walpole to Mann, on the 17th of March 1761.

‡ Speech on American Taxation, 1774.

It was to him that on Pitt's resignation Bute looked for the main conduct of the Ministerial business in the House of Commons. Thus his thoughts became diverted from the vacant Chair, and turned towards high political office, for which his qualifications were not equally eminent.—In his stead, the election of Speaker fell upon Sir John Cust, Member for Grantham, a gentleman of respectable character and attainments, grandfather of the present Earl Brownlow.

The King's Speech on opening the Session was nearly in the same strain as those former Speeches which Pitt had drawn; like them it promised a vigorous prosecution of the war; like them it praised the "magnanimity and ability" of the King of Prussia. How far Lord Bute was in earnest when framing these expressions will presently be seen. Meanwhile the turn of the debates afforded Pitt several opportunities to explain or vindicate his recent course of policy. He spoke with unwonted temper and moderation, defending his own conduct, without arraigning that of his former colleagues. If, as some detractors allege, his harangues at this time were inflammatory*, they were so from the force of his topics, and not from the violence of his language.

* "Since the Guildhall dinner,—for pensions stop the mouths "only of courtiers, not of the virtuous,—Pitt has harangued "in the House with exceeding applause; it was fine, guarded, "artful,—very inflammatory." (H. Walpole to Mann, November 14. 1761.)

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1761.

This virtue of moderation was not, however, shown towards himself by his opponents. On one occasion, when he was absent from the House, Colonel Isaac Barré, who only the year before had solicited preferment at his hands*, inveighed against him in the harshest terms as a "profligate Minister," and as likely to incur "the execration of "the people." Another such scene is well described in a letter of that time.—"Would you "know a little of the humour of Parliament, and "particularly with regard to Mr. Pitt?—I must "then tell you that Colonel Barré, a soldier of "fortune, a young man born in Dublin of parents "in a mean condition, his father and mother from "France, and established in a little grocer's shop, "—this young man (a man of address and parts), "found out, pushed, and brought into Parliament "by Lord Shelburne, had not sat two days in the "House before he attacked Mr. Pitt. I shall give "you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the "manner of Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said: 'There "'he would stand, turning up his eyes to Heaven, "'that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his "'hand in a solemn manner upon the table,—that "'sacrilegious hand that had been employed in "'tearing out the bowels of his mother country!' "—Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear "this and be silent, or would you think that the

* See Colonel Barré's letter, April 28. 1760, in the Chatham Correspondence. His application had been refused by Pitt.

1761.

"House would suffer a respectable Member to be "thus treated? Yet so it was!"*

Notwithstanding the eloquence and the popularity of Pitt, it appears that he had at this time but few Parliamentary followers. On a motion to produce the papers respecting the Spanish negotiation, so scanty were his numbers that he could not venture a division. The new Opposition, which held its meetings at the St. Alban's Tavern, had, however, the good wishes or the secret aid of many more than openly joined it. Among the chief of these half allies was the new Secretary at War, the volatile Charles Townshend, who was offended at the preference shown to George Grenville, and was beginning to veer back again from Bute to Pitt.

But the first business in this Session was to consider a paragraph in the Royal Speech, recommending a Dowry for the Queen. The precedent of Queen Caroline was consulted and adopted, and an Act passed unanimously, securing to Her Majesty in case she should survive the King a yearly income of 100,000*l*. When the King came to the House of Lords to give this Act the Royal Assent, the Queen appeared on his right hand, seated on a chair of state, and publicly expressed her thanks by rising up and making her obeisance to His Majesty.

* Mr. Symmers to Mr. A. Mitchell, Envoy to the Court of Prussia, January 29. 1762. This and some other extracts from the Mitchell MSS. are printed as notes to the Chatham Correspondence.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1761.

During this time the progress of the Spanish negotiations had been precisely such as Pitt had foreseen and foretold.—On the 21st of September Lord Bristol announced to the Secretary of State that the FLOTA had safely anchored in the bay of Cadiz; and on the 2d of November he adds: "Two "ships have lately arrived at Cadiz with very ex- "traordinary rich cargoes from the West Indies, "so that all the wealth that was expected from "Spanish America is now safe in Old Spain." In that very same despatch of the 2d of November the ambassador has to report a "surprising change "in General Wall's discourse," and "haughty "language now held by this Court, so different "from all the former professions!"—It now became evident, even to Lord Bristol's apprehension, that the Spaniards had been pacific only while awaiting and expecting their resources for war. The claims of Spain upon England were urged anew in the most peremptory terms, while the request of the Court of London for some information or explanation respecting the rumoured Family Compact was met with a positive refusal. Further notes or further interviews served only to widen the breach. Before the close of the year the Earl of Bristol received orders to leave Madrid, and the Conde de Fuentes orders to leave London. Fuentes, previous to his departure, addressed by his master's order an angry Memorial to Lord Egremont, inveighing even by name against "the minister "Pitt."—"The horrors," added he, "into which

"the Spanish and English nations are going to "plunge themselves must be attributed only to "the pride and to the unmeasurable ambition of "him who has held the reins of the government, "and who appears still to hold them, although "by another hand."*—A course so unusual in diplomacy as to single out a statesman no longer in office as the object of attack indicates the impression which Pitt had made on the enemies of England, and is more creditable to the talents of the British Minister than to the temper of the Catholic King.—Lord Egremont replied to this attack in a strain of dignified courtesy; but all hope of conciliation had vanished, and a Declaration of War against Spain was issued on the 4th of January 1762. 1761.

The necessity of this new war was most galling to Lord Bute. In the first place it confirmed in the fullest manner his rival's system of policy, for never surely were any statesman's projects or predictions more thoroughly confirmed by the event, than those of Pitt in October 1761 by that in January 1762. But even besides such rivalry, Lord Bute had set his heart on terminating without delay the hostilities previously existing. It was his maxim that England ought to stand as clear as possible of Continental ties;—a maxim which was founded on a dislike of the Hanover politics in the two last reigns, and which would 1762.

* Conde de Fuentes to the Earl of Egremont, Christmas Day, 1761.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

deserve approbation, if the exact reverse of wrong were always right. But such views as the British Minister was now prepared to carry into action seem scarcely suited to a first-rate power; and even allowing them true, would be valid only against contracting new engagements, not against honourably fulfilling the engagements already formed, and the expectations already raised. These objections, however forcible, and however forcibly urged, made little or no impression on Lord Bute. On various pleas he eluded a renewal of the yearly Prussian subsidy, to which Frederick had undoubtedly at this time an equitable claim, and of which he never stood in greater need. Nay more; Lord Bute had resolved that if even he should find himself compelled by Frederick's popularity in England to grant another subsidy, he would do so without any renewal of the treaties as to time, so as to dole it out at his pleasure, and to keep the King in his dependence.* Indeed the whole correspondence of Bute upon this subject, even in his own vindication, betrays both distrust and aversion against that Prince, whom he had so lately lauded in public as our magnanimous ally.† He made a clandestine overture, without the consent or know-

* "This expedient, the King of Prussia's Ministers observe, "leaves their master at the mercy of his ally . . . . . and "cannot fail to render his enemies more obstinate and invete- "rate." Mr. A. Mitchell to Lord Bute, January 16. 1762. Mitchell Papers.

† See this correspondence at length in the Appendix to Mr. Adolphus's first volume, p. 575—589. ed. 1840.

ledge of Frederick, to the Court of Vienna. He allowed the Duke of Bedford, his new colleague, selected by himself as Lord Privy Seal, to bring forward in the House of Peers a motion against the war in Germany,—an Address to the King to recall his troops from that country. And though Bute himself felt it necessary to resist this motion, he did so only by moving the previous question, and by arguing rather against the time and manner than against the substance of the Address.* In short, his whole foreign policy tended to withdraw from Prussia not only substantial but moral support.

The effects of this want of good judgment, or rather, perhaps, of good faith, in Lord Bute, unhappily extended very far beyond his own administration. From this time forward the King of Prussia lost for ever all confidence in the stability of British counsels, or the value of British alliance. Thus it happened, that when, some years afterwards, we in our turn were beset with dangers, and sought anew the friendship of the Court of Berlin, we saw our overtures slighted, and those of the Court of Petersburg preferred. Thus it was that, amidst the hostile combination of France and Spain, and the gathering storms of our own colonial empire, we found ourselves alone. Thus it was that Fre-

* Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 1218. This debate is given from Lord Hardwicke's notes. Lord Bute's speech will be found at full length in the Appendix to the Cavendish Reports, vol. i. p. 570. ed. 1841.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

derick, closely leagued with Russia, became an accomplice in that great political crime,—the first partition of Poland.*—Seldom indeed,—let me in passing observe it of Lord Bute,—has any Minister, with so short a tenure of power, and, I may fairly add, with so little of guilt in his intentions, been the cause of so great evils. Within a year and a half he had lost the King his popularity and the kingdom its allies!

The disasters to Prussia of the campaign of 1761, combined with the unfriendly disposition of the British rulers, had placed Frederick on the very brink of ruin. At this crisis he was rescued by a most auspicious event in his favour,—the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, on the 5th of January 1762. Her nephew, the Duke of Holstein, —who succeeded to the throne by the title of Peter the Third,—a prince of feeble if not diseased intellect, far from sharing her resentment against the Prussian Monarch, entertained for him an enthusiastic veneration. He was accustomed to kiss his portrait, and talk of him with rapture, calling him his friend and master. Such a master, for war or statesmanship, would indeed have been wisely chosen; but the Czar's imitation of the hero turned merely on little things and outward signs, to which alone his capacity extended;—it was such an imitation as the ape can achieve of man. He was deeply skilled in all the details of uniform

* The origin of this partition from the policy of Lord Bute is well traced by Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 306.

in the Prussian regiments, and eagerly desired to substitute that uniform for the Russian. Regardless of the rising murmurs among his own troops, he accepted with transports of joy the commission of Colonel in the Prussian service, and assumed its dress on most occasions, seeming more proud to be an officer of Frederick than the sovereign of an independent army.—One of the first measures of his reign was to send home the Prussian prisoners, new clothed and well-supplied. A suspension of hostilities between himself and his idol was speedily agreed to, and, in the negotiations for peace which followed, Peter declared himself ready to restore all the conquests made by his predecessor,—more especially the province of Prussia Proper, of which his troops held undisputed possession, and which the late Czarina had resolved to annex to her dominions. On the 5th of May a treaty stipulating this restitution was signed. Thus was the great confederacy against Frederick first broken through, and one of its main pillars withdrawn. Nay, more, this change of policy drew Sweden in the train of Russia. Sweden, which had long been weary of the war, and waged it remissly, signed a separate peace with the Court of Berlin in the course of the same month. Nay, further still, so ably had Frederick wrought upon the favourable disposition of the Czar, as to obtain from him a body of auxiliary troops in the next campaign. And thus, to the astonishment of the world, a Russian army appeared in Silesia ready to

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

take part in expelling those very Austrians who only a few months before had been brought into that province by Russian aid!

The death of the Czarina, and her successor's friendly disposition, afforded the Prussian agents in London fresh topics for claiming a renewal of the subsidy. Now, they urged,—when the great alliance had been happily severed,—was the time for pushing the Austrians with vigour, and reducing their claims to moderation. Lord Bute, on the contrary, observed, that after the withdrawal of Russia from the contest a subsidy must be far less needful to Frederick than before. At length (his other evasions being exhausted) he declared that His Majesty would only grant his pecuniary aid if it tended to the conclusion of peace, instead of the continuation of war. It was his opinion that Prussia ought to purchase peace by a sacrifice of territory to the Court of Vienna,—and this sacrifice Frederick had declared that he never would make. Having this aim before him during the negotiations with Russia, Lord Bute became exposed to a charge of signal perfidy. He is alleged, in a conference with Prince Gallitzin, the Russian Minister in London, to have said, that his main object was a general peace,—"that for this end it was hoped "the Czar would not withdraw his troops from the "Prussian territories;—that Lord Bute could not "persuade himself that the Emperor would prefer "the recent connexion with the King of Prussia to "the natural alliance with the House of Austria;

"—that by not withdrawing the troops the King "of Prussia would be under the necessity of "making considerable cessions to the Court of "Vienna;—that it was not the intention of Eng- "land to make eternal war to please the King of "Prussia;—that England wanted just to save him, "but wished that prince could be brought to make "considerable cessions."* It is added, that the Czar was so indignant at this suggestion as to send the despatch of Prince Gallitzin containing it to the King of Prussia, who, in his turn, showed it to the British Minister at his Court. Considering that England and Prussia were still bound together by treaty, and Prussia and Russia not yet at peace, it must be owned that such a proposal from the Government of England against its own ally would, if really made, have been seldom paralleled for baseness.—On the other hand, Lord Bute, in reply to this accusation, disclaimed in the most solemn manner the words imputed to him, and declared that Prince Gallitzin had either quite misunderstood or grossly misrepresented his meaning.†

But there was another ally, whom Lord Bute could not,—with the slightest regard either to

* I quote the words of a confidential despatch from Mr. A. Mitchell to Lord Bute, dated Breslau, May 3. 1762, and printed in Lord Dover's Life of Frederick II. vol. ii. p. 260. The same charge is deliberately urged against *le Sieur Bute* in the *Œuvres Posthumes*, vol. iii. p. 227.

† Despatch to Mr. A. Mitchell, May 26. 1762.—Appendix to Mr. Adolphus's History.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

ancient treaties or to popular feeling,—as readily forsake.—In the spring of this year the two Bourbon Courts, acting in concert, displayed a hostile determination against Portugal. Indeed, it was the hope of reconquering, or, at least, humbling and holding in vassalage that kingdom, which had formed one main motive with Spain for acceding to the Family Compact. Never was any aggression more destitute,—I will not say of good reason, —but even of plausible pretext. The two Courts demanded that Portugal should renounce its neutrality, and join them in the war against England, —its constant ally,—as being, they alleged, the common enemy of all maritime nations. This demand, so unprecedented in itself, was urged in a most peremptory tone, and in three successive memorials, while, in case of refusal, large bodies of Spanish troops were already marched to the frontier. King Joseph, finding all argument and all entreaty unavailing, and driven to extremity, replied at last with unwonted spirit, that he would sooner "let the last tile of his palace fall, and see "his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their "blood" (he said nothing of his own), "rather "than sacrifice, together with the honour of his "Crown, all that Portugal holds most dear."* The result was a declaration of war between Portugal and Spain in the course of the ensuing month. At this, its utmost need, the Court of

* Memorial of Don Luis Da Cunha, April 5. 1762.

Lisbon appealed, in pursuance of ancient treaties, to the Court of St. James's, and this appeal, however unwelcome to Lord Bute, could not be resisted. On the 11th of May a Royal Message recommended the defence of Portugal to the care of the House of Commons, and a vote of one million sterling towards that object was proposed. On the 13th followed, not indeed a division, but a debate, when Lord George Sackville, now beginning to raise his voice again since his sentence, objected to the sum, as excessive, and took occasion to complain of wasteful expenses in the German war. Pitt, though no longer in office, rose to reply, and supported the vote proposed. "Not," he said, "that "we should bear the whole charge of defending our "ancient ally,—I do not mean to carry the King of "Portugal on our shoulders, but only to set him "on his legs, and put a sword in his hand!" He added, in a playful tone,—turning from one knot of members to another,—"You, who are for con- "tinental measures, I am with you,—and you, who "are for assisting the King of Portugal, I am with "you,—and you, who are for putting an end to "the war, I am with you also;—in short, I am "the only man to be found that am with you all!" —He affirmed, that, had his advice been taken in the preceding autumn, one more campaign might have finished the war. On Lord George Sackville he animadverted in covert terms, but with great severity. "I wish," he cried, "that noble Lord "had explained one part of his speech,—I do not

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

"properly know what to make of it,—it carries a "something,—a suspicion I do not well under- "stand! But, if he means there has not been fair "play with the money, I know nothing of it." And then, stretching out his hand, and moving his fingers to and fro, he added: "They are clean; "there is none of it sticks to them!"*

The necessity of giving some succour to Portugal supplied Lord Bute in the course of the spring with another argument against the Prussian subsidy, and, though never refusing, he continued to evade the still renewed solicitations of the Prussian agents. The close of the Session, however, was now close at hand, the Prorogation being fixed for the 2d of June, and it became evident that no vote in aid of Prussia would be proposed to Parliament. At this period, and on that plea, the Duke of Newcastle retired from the Treasury. He had always been a warm friend of foreign subsidies and foreign alliances, and his secession from Lord Bute was, therefore, thoroughly consistent with his former recorded opinions. Yet, to any one who has closely examined his character and his career, it will not appear very probable that this "young, disinterested creature," as Horace Walpole sarcastically calls him, should relinquish office solely, if at all, for the sake of these opinions. The truth is, as we learn from the same con-

* Parl. Hist., vol. xv. p. 1222. Only such fragments of quotation or description now remain to give us any idea of Chatham's style of eloquence.

temporary, that "all kinds of disgusts had been "given to convince him how unwelcome his com- "pany was."* For some time Lord Bute had been desirous to rid himself of the last colleague whose power bore any degree of approach to his own. On the other hand, the Duke had on several former occasions displayed his influence by simulated threats of resignation, and been gratified by earnest entreaties to remain. Some such entreaties he probably expected on this last occasion. If so he was disappointed. When he called upon Lord Bute to urge subsidies, and to threaten resignation, his Lordship (as Newcastle afterwards piteously complains to Hardwicke) "answered me "drily, that if I resigned the peace might be re- "tarded, but he never requested me to continue "in office, nor said a civil thing to me afterwards "while we remained together!"† It is clear that his Grace,—had he been properly sued,—would not have been found inexorable.

On one point, however, Newcastle showed a lofty spirit. Love of place and intrigue was his fault,—not love of lucre; far from enriching himself, he had lavished a large fortune in his various employments and elections, and he now refused a pension which the King was ready to grant him in reward of his long services.

According to the Newcastle Code of Politics the

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, May 26. 1762.

† Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hardwicke, May 1762.—Adolphus's History, vol. i. p. 69. ed. 1840.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

next best thing to a firm retention of office is the prospect of a speedy return to it. On this maxim the Duke bent lowly before the Favourite; he declared his intention to refrain from opposing the Government; and he desired his adherents,—as Lord Barrington,—and his kinsmen,—as Lord Lincoln,—to continue in place. Nay, more, it was not long before he entrusted Lord Barrington with an overture to Lord Bute, expressing his inclination to re-enter office as Lord Privy Seal, with Lord Hardwicke as President of the Council. These tokens of submission wrought favourably on Lord Bute, and he seemed well disposed to make the desired arrangement, but he delayed it too long. Before that summer had closed the Duke's appetite for office had become so uncontrollable that he could not refrain from engaging with the Opposition, and attempting to take the Treasury by storm.*

On the resignation of Newcastle, Lord Bute immediately named himself head of the Treasury, with George Grenville, Secretary of State, in his stead, and Sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Lord Barrington, who had held the latter office, became, in exchange, Treasurer of the Navy. Not satisfied with this rapid succession of honours, Lord Bute, only a few days afterwards, obtained for himself a vacant Garter. But skilled as he was in the mysteries

* Political Life of Lord Barrington by the Bishop of Durham (unpublished), p. 70.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

of Court cabal, he did not understand or did not heed the currents of popular feeling. He had yet to learn that statesmen even of real merit ought for their own sakes to shun the envy that attends a too rapid elevation. And still more important becomes this due gradation, when at the root of so high a growth lies little or no merit beyond the favour of the Sovereign. A violent storm of unpopularity began early in the summer to gather round the head of Bute. It was not that the nation mourned the dismissal of Newcastle; they probably felt about the Earl and the Duke much like Charles Townshend, who was a kinsman of both, and who some years before had thus summed up their comparative pretensions: "Silly fellow for silly fellow, I think it is as well "to be governed by my uncle, with a blue riband, "as by my cousin with a green one!"* — Even as to Pitt the popular voice was not at this time loudly raised. But reflecting men, when they saw Lord Bute remove rival after rival, and attain favour after favour, began to inquire among themselves the cause of his unbounded ascendant. Was that ascendant founded on any peculiar weight of property, or courtesy of manners, or lustre of public service? What wisdom had his Lordship ever shown in Council? what skill in diplomacy? what eloquence in debate? And when questions such as these receive no satisfactory reply, there will

* This was in 1756.—Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 65.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

always be a proneness to leap, even without a shadow of proof or testimony, to the most injurious surmises. A host of libels now came forth, ready to direct and fix the unsettled suspicions of the public. John Wilkes,—a name now first emerging into an evil fame,—was the author of periodical papers against the influence of Lord Bute, under the name of the North Briton. Still more insulting was a new dedication which he wrote and published to an old play,* "The fall of Mor-"timer," in which Lord Bute was compared to that minion, and the Princess Dowager to the mother of Edward the Third. With characteristic effrontery, Wilkes one day accosted Mr. Jeremiah Dyson, the Secretary to the Treasury, and asked him if he was then going towards Downing Street; "because," added he, "a friend of mine has dedi-"cated a play to Lord Bute, and it is usual to "give dedicators something; I wish you would "put his Lordship in mind of it."—There is no account whether the dull Secretary did really fall into the snare, and deliver to his chief this message of mock-civility.

Not less unjustifiable was the attempt of Wilkes and his fellow-libellers to extend the popular animosity in England from a man to a nation,—from the Earl of Bute to the whole Scottish race.—Because the new Prime Minister was of northern birth,—

* Or rather the unfinished fragment of a play. See Ben Johnson's Works, vol. v. p. 305. ed. 1716.

because he might be unduly, or, as they said, profligately, eager to place countrymen of his own in office,—it was judged expedient, without regard to truth or decency, to hold forth those countrymen at large as objects of abhorrence,—to overlook or deny those qualities which have made them conspicuous among the nations of the world, their high spirit, their dauntless courage, their steady industry, their education so carefully directed, and their sense of religion so deep and so devout,—and to represent them as a brood of hungry harpies, ready to pounce upon and to devour the fruits of the richer South.—The favourite taunt was the poverty of their barren mountains,—the same, as a Scottish gentleman once observed, which the Persians might urge against the Macedonians on the day before the battle of the Issus. Foremost amongst these maligners of Scotland was Churchill, once a clergyman, now a town-rake, and a familiar associate of Wilkes, whom he surpassed in talents and equalled in morality. His "Prophecy of Famine" may yet be read with all the admiration which the most vigorous powers of verse, and the most lively touches of wit, can earn in the cause of slander and falsehood.* Unhappily the old rancour between the bordering nations was not yet so wholly allayed or extinguished but that

* What—to give a very slight example—can be more directly opposite to fact than the following description of a Scottish stream:—

"Where slowly winding the dull waters creep,
"And seem themselves to own the power of sleep."

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

it could be, by such able hands, again fanned into flame. When Wilkes was consulted by his friend Churchill on the publication of this poem, and had read it in manuscript, he shrewdly answered, that he was sure it must succeed, as it was at once personal, poetical, and political.* And successful, indeed, it proved. Churchill deserves the reputation,—whatever that reputation may be worth,—of having done more than any other man of his time by his writings (for Lord Bute, as I think, did as much by his conduct,) to array one portion of the United Kingdom in bitter hostility against the other.

Amidst these growing dissensions all parties (I need scarcely except the remnant of the Jacobites) were gladdened at the birth of an heir. On the 12th of August the Queen was safely delivered of a son, afterwards King George the Fourth. He was by no means the only offspring of this fruitful marriage: eight other Princes and six Princesses followed in rapid and happy succession; the youngest, Princess Amelia, being born in 1783.

The campaign of the Prussian armies in this year displays a striking contrast to the former. Being reinforced in Silesia by 20,000 Russians under General Czernicheff, Frederick had become superior in numbers to the Austrians under Marshal Daun, and reduced them, in their turn, to the

* Memoir of the Rev. Charles Churchill, p. 11. ed. 1767 of the Poems.

defensive. Daun was compelled (precisely as Frederick the year before) to take up a strong position in an entrenched camp for the defence of Schweidnitz. From this position, strong as it was, both by art and nature, Frederick was projecting to dislodge him by a combined assault, when, on the 19th of July, the Russian General waited upon His Prussian Majesty with most unexpected and most unwelcome tidings from Petersburg.—The Czar, during the few months since his accession, had produced a wonderful unanimity amongst his subjects; they all agreed in despising his folly and abhorring his innovations. Although the latter were often trifling, they were on that very account perhaps the less tolerable; and nothing tended more to his downfal than his attempts to deprive the soldiers of their uniform, and the clergy of their beards. For the sake of his mistress,—a niece of the Chancellor Woronzow,—he had slighted, and, it is said, threatened to repudiate his consort, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, a woman of superior genius, by whose counsels he might have profited. Thus, from the Czarina downwards, almost every one had an interest in forming,—and scarce any in revealing or counteracting,—a conspiracy against him. On the 9th of July it broke forth,—the guards mutinied, the Empress came to place herself at their head, and the Senate hastened to proclaim her sovereign in her own right, by the title of Catherine the Second. So thorough was the unanimity that, as Mr. Keith,

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

the British Envoy, declares, "this surprising revolution was brought about and completed in little more than two hours, without one drop of blood being spilt or any act of violence committed."* The Czar, who, unconscious of his danger, was living secluded with his mistress at Oranienbaum, a country-house upon the sea-shore, showed himself wholly wanting in energy and courage; he consented to sign, not merely an abdication of his throne, but an acknowledgment of his incapacity; and he was removed to safe custody near the capital. But how short is the span, whenever an absolute monarch is dethroned, between his prison and his grave! How soon has the Court Gazette to announce, with every expression of profound grief, some kind of fatal illness! In this case the kind selected was "hemorrhoidal cholic," of which the Czar is stated to have died on the seventh day of his confinement. In truth, however, the unhappy Prince was strangled by Orlof, a man of gigantic stature and ferocious aspect, surnamed from a wound "the Scarred," to distinguish him from his brother, who was at this time the Favourite of Catherine.

To resume the war with Frederick was by no means the wish of the new Sovereign, but as little was it her intention to continue his ally against Austria. The same express which conveyed to

* Mr. Keith to Mr. Secretary Grenville, July 12. 1762, Appendix. The fullest account of this singular catastrophe is that by Rulhière, published (after the death of Catherine the Second) in the last volume of his *Histoire de Pologne*.

Czernicheff the tidings of the revolution brought him an order to separate his troops from the Prussian, and lead them back to Poland. Such was the unforeseen communication which, on the 19th of July, the Russian General made to the Prussian Monarch.—Frederick lost no time in vain regrets; he prevailed on Czernicheff to conceal his news, and delay his departure for three days longer, and on the second of those days he attacked Daun on the heights of Burkersdorf. Thus, only a few hours before he was left by his allies, he succeeded in storming the Austrian positions, taking seventeen pieces of cannon and a great number of prisoners, and driving the enemy to the Bohemian frontier. On the 4th of August he commenced the siege of Schweidnitz, which Daun vainly attempted to relieve, and which surrendered on the 9th of October.

In Saxony the King's brother, Prince Henry, gained a battle at Freyberg over the Austrians and the troops of the Empire combined; and thus the whole result of the campaign was disastrous to Maria Theresa.

The war in Westphalia continued with unabated vigour. In that quarter England maintained annually an hundred thousand men, and expended five millions of money; yet these exertions, vast as they seem, were scarcely adequate, when opposed to the whole Continental power of France. The counsels of Lord Bute had, moreover, produced a coolness and want of concert between himself and

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

the leaders of the German war, and might well throw a damp on the spirits of the latter; but the genius of Prince Ferdinand supplied every deficiency. He had before him in this campaign, as in the former, two French armies,—the one commanded by Marshal d'Estrées, the other by the Prince de Soubise; besides which, Prince Xavier headed a separate detachment, and a reserve under the Prince de Condé guarded the Lower Rhine. On the 24th of June Ferdinand surprised the enemy at Wilhelmsthal, and drove them to the walls of Cassel, with a loss of 4,000 men. A month afterwards he gained a still more decisive advantage (Lord Granby commanding his right wing) over Prince Xavier at Lüttemberg. Nay more, by his skilful dispositions he compelled the French to evacuate Göttingen, and, after an obstinate siege, to surrender Cassel. The only success of which they could boast during this campaign was at Johannisberg; where the Prince de Condé,—whose very name might seem to them an earnest of victory,—worsted, with heavy loss, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick.

Of no less importance at this juncture was the defence of Portugal. That ancient kingdom had sunk to the most deplorable weakness, partly from natural and partly from political causes. To the calamities of the earthquake in 1755 had been added those of a conspiracy in 1758; a conspiracy that reflects no slight dishonour on the King Don Joseph, as provoked by licentiousness, and avenged

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

with cruelty.* In its results the heads of two noble houses, Aveiro and Tavora, perished on the scaffold, and the Jesuit Malagrida at the stake, while a long train of suspicions, cabals, and enmities, remained behind. The vigorous administration of the Conde de Oeyras, afterwards Marquis de Pombal, had commenced, but had not as yet produced its fruits of reform. The fortresses were dilapidated, the finances in arrear; neither order nor confidence prevailed among the troops, nor had they a single commander of note and reputation. The only alleviation to this gloomy picture was the corresponding decline of Spain. An English general officer, who was then amongst the Portuguese, gives it as his opinion that "ten thousand "well-disciplined troops upon the frontier might "take their choice whether they would march to "Lisbon or to Madrid."† At the outset of the campaign, however, the Spaniards made considerable progress; in the Tras os Montes, the towns of Miranda, Braganza, and Chaves fell into their hands, and in Beira (where they expected some French reinforcements under the Prince de Beauvau) they reduced the fortress of Almeida. The

* See in the Appendix a despatch from Mr. Hay (Sept. 13. 1758), giving the first account of this conspiracy, and of the attempts at Court to represent the King's wound as accidental. —His Majesty had debauched, besides the Marchioness of Tavora, both the wife and the daughter of the Duke de Aveiro.

† Earl of Tyrawley to Mr. Pitt, April 15. 1762. Chatham Correspondence.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

chief resistance they encountered was not from the regular troops, but from the exasperated peasantry, whom they hanged and shot without mercy whenever they could take them, and who in return committed frightful barbarities upon their prisoners. But the arrival of the British succours changed the scene. Arms, ammunition, money, and provisions (for all were wanting) were all supplied to the Portuguese. A body of auxiliary troops landed at Lisbon under Lord Loudoun, Brigadier-General Burgoyne, and other officers, while the command of the native army was intrusted to Count La Lippe, who had been Master of the Artillery to Prince Ferdinand, and who enjoyed high reputation as an engineer and tactician.* Thus the progress of the Spaniards was effectually arrested; nay, Burgoyne even retaliated upon their territory by surprising their magazine and their reserve at Valencia de Alcantara; and before the close of the year they had withdrawn beyond their frontiers.

The expedition against Martinico, so long projected, had been sent forth at the close of the preceding year, the fleet under Admiral Rodney, the land-forces (not far short of 12,000 men) under

* It is recorded,—as a proof of the skill with which the Count had trained his artillery men, and of his confidence in them,—that he celebrated the King of Prussia's birthday in 1759, by giving a dinner to his officers in his tent,—the flag at the top of that tent being aimed at during the whole entertainment as a mark for cannon-balls! (Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 216.) It is not added with what degree of appetite the officers dined!

General Monckton. On the 7th of January they effected their disembarkation at a creek called Cas de Navires, after some resistance, but without the loss of a single man. From thence they proceeded to the siege of Fort Royal. A commanding eminence above it, Morne Tortenson, was carried by assault; the British grenadiers advancing under the cover of their batteries, while 1,000 British sailors in flat-bottomed boats rowed close to the shore for their support. The reduction of a second height, Morne Garnier, was immediately followed by the capitulation, not only of Port Royal, but of the capital St. Pierre, and of the whole island. Nay more, this surrender of Martinico drew after it the surrender of the dependent isles, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, so that the British standard now waved victorious over all the Caribbees.

The next object for our arms in the West Indies was not French but Spanish. On the 5th of March an expedition against the Havanna had sailed from Portsmouth, commanded by General the Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Sir George Pocock. It was joined on its way by a share of the squadron which had conquered Martinico; the whole force, after this addition, amounting to nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and 150 transports, with 10,000 soldiers on board. They made good their landing near the Havanna without opposition, but on approaching the city found themselves beset with the most

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

formidable obstacles. First among these might be reckoned the climate, which, at the summer season, to which this enterprise had been delayed, and with the needful exposure of active service, is dangerous, nay deadly, to an European frame. The city itself, though like most other sea points in Cuba, destitute of natural strength*, had been fortified with the utmost skill, cost, and care, as the great mart and centre of the Spanish American trade. Within the harbour lay twelve ships of the line; within the ramparts a garrison which, including the country militia, was not inferior in force to the besiegers. Besides the strong works flanked with bastions which defended the main body of the place, the narrow entrance of the harbour was secured by two forts deemed well nigh impregnable, the forts of Puntal and of Moro. It was against the Moro that the English first directed their attack. They began on the 12th of June to construct their batteries, but so thin was the soil, and so hard the rock beneath, that they advanced but very slowly. The seamen, however, cordially co-operated with the soldiers; by their joint exertions the batteries were at length completed, and the cannon dragged with prodigious labour over a long extent of rugged shore. Several of the men at work dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and

* "La isla de Cuba considerada por sus costas es en mucha "parte baxa, y en parages tanto que parece estar igual con el "mar." (Ulloa, Noticias Americanas, p. 15. ed. 1772.) See also the description of Herrera (Decad. i. lib. ix. ch. ii.)

fatigue. At length the artillery of the besiegers began to play upon the fort, and some vigorous sallies of the besieged were steadily repulsed. One morning three ships of the English fleet stationed themselves as close as they could to the Moro, and attempted by their fire to dismount its guns, but they were compelled to withdraw, after slight effect upon the enemy, and great damage to themselves. Many days elapsed with little progress, nevertheless the besiegers continued undaunted, and towards the close of July they were cheered by the arrival of some expected reinforcements from New York. On the 30th of that month the mines having been sprung, and a practicable breach effected (though still narrow and difficult) the English troops marched up to the assault. The enemy did not on this occasion display the same intrepidity as in their former sallies; many threw down their arms, and cried for quarter; many others rushed headlong towards the water, where they perished; yet their officers set them a most gallant example, and it was not until both their first and second in command (Don Luis de Velasco and the Marques de Gonzales) had fallen mortally wounded that the besiegers stood victorious on the summit of the castle wall.

The Moro thus conquered, batteries were forthwith raised against the Havanna itself, and on the 11th of August their fire began. Within six hours they had silenced nearly all the enemy's guns; flags of truce then appeared from every

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

quarter of the town; and a capitulation ensued, by which, not only the Havanna, but the district 180 miles to the westward, and all the ships in the harbour, were yielded to the English. This capitulation was not signed until the morning of the 13th, though the 12th has been more commonly alleged, for the sake of connecting this auspicious event with the birthday of the Prince of Wales. It came in good time,—the English had already lost above 1,100 men from sickness or the sword, and I find it asserted that at the time of the surrender no more than 2,500 remained capable of real service.*

Treasure and merchandise of immense value,—the whole, according to one computation, not far short of 3,000,000*l.*†, fell into the hands of the victors. But great and just discontents arose at the distribution of the prize-money, in violation, it was said, of the established rules. While no more than 3*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* were allotted to a common seaman, and 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* to a common soldier, the Admiral and General each obtained the enormous sum of 122,697*l.*

Shortly afterwards was achieved a conquest of scarcely less importance, in an opposite quarter of the globe. An expedition against the Philippine Islands had been sent out from Madras; it comprised only one King's regiment, and in all, including Sepoys and Marines, only 2,300 men of land forces, commanded by Brigadier-General, after-

* Entick's History of the War, vol. v. p. 382.

† Annual Register 1762, part i. p. 43.

wards Sir William Draper. They landed near Manilla, the chief city, on the 24th of September, before the Spanish garrison had received any official tidings of the war. The Archbishop, however, who acted as General and Governor, maintained his walls with becoming resolution; nay, on one occasion he directed a sally of several hundred native islanders who had been trained to arms in the Spanish service, and who came rushing on with savage ferocity; but they were soon repulsed, and many of them died gnawing like wild beasts the bayonets that pierced them. On the twelfth day after the landing, a practicable breach having been effected, the English carried the city by storm, and gave it up during several hours to all the horrors of pillage. The Archbishop and his officers, who had retired to the citadel, were admitted to a capitulation for the whole cluster of islands and the ships in harbour, by which they consented to pay as ransom for their property two millions of dollars in money, and the same sum in bills upon the treasury at Madrid. 1762.

But the reduction of the Philippines was not our only success in that quarter. A frigate, and a ship of the line from Draper's squadron, overtook and captured an Acapulco galleon, the Santisima Trinidad, with a cargo valued at three millions of dollars. Another and still greater prize was the Hermione, bound from Lima to Cadiz, which fell into our hands when almost arrived at its destination, being taken off Cape St. Vincent by two English frigates. The treasure on board, amounting to full 800,000*l.*, arrived

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

in London, and passed through St. James's Street, on the very morning of the Prince of Wales's birth; and the King, with all the company assembled in Her Majesty's anteroom on this joyful event, surveyed from the window the exulting procession, attended by standards and kettle-drums.

To counterbalance these great advantages on the part of England the French could only point to their descent at St. John's in Newfoundland, from which, however, they were expelled in the course of the same summer,—and the Spaniards only to their conquest of the Portuguese colony of Sacramento on the Rio de La Plata. In that colony, however, they seized some British ships, and merchandise of considerable value, and they were the better able to defeat and repulse an expedition which several private adventurers, English and Portuguese, had directed against the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres.

Our great successes in this year both by sea and land afforded opposite arguments to the contending parties at home. The partisans of Bute and Newcastle might boast that Victory had not resigned with Mr. Pitt. On the other hand, the followers or admirers of the Great Commoner put forth a variety of ingenious illustrations tending to prove that the honour of the recent conquests belonged in truth to him:—"The single eloquence of "Mr. Pitt, like an annihilated star, can shine many "months after it has sat; I tell you it has con-"quered Martinico,"— says Horace Walpole.*

* To G. Montagu, March 22. 1762.

"The instrument which Mr. Pitt used still "vibrated, though touched by a different hand," —says Mr. Thackeray.* 1762.

But no successes, however great, no triumphs, however glorious, could turn the thoughts of Lord Bute from his constant object of peace,—an object, which, however in itself praiseworthy, demands a due regard both to alliances contracted and to advantages gained. He made his first overtures to the Court of Versailles through the neutral Court of Sardinia; they were of course eagerly accepted, and a new negotiation commenced. On the 6th of September the Duke of Bedford embarked as Ambassador from England; on the 12th the Duke de Nivernois landed as Ambassador from France. Of these two noblemen, Bedford, though well versed in affairs, was, perhaps, in some degree, disqualified by his hasty temper for the profession of a Temple or a Gondomar; and Nivernois was only celebrated for his graceful manners and his pretty songs.† Indeed, as I find it alleged, neither of these Dukes was intrusted with the real and secret business, which passed between Choiseul and Bute through the agency of the Sardinian

* Life of Chatham, vol. ii. p. 8.

† The best of these (and yet poor enough) is probably his *Gentille Boulangère:*

. . . . . .
"Des dons que tu nous livres
"Peut-on se rejouir?—
"Si ta main nous fait vivre
"Tes yeux nous font mourir!"
. . . . . .

(Chansons Choisies, vol. iv. p. 105. ed. Londres, 1783.)

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

Envoys.* I am bound to say, however, that Bedford's own despatches, as preserved in the State Paper Office, seem to me to prove an earnest and careful attention to his duties. Nor would he have knowingly submitted to any diminution of authority. When soon after his landing he found by his advices from home a new and unexpected curtailment in his former full powers, he wrote to Lord Bute from Paris on the 20th, and to Lord Egremont on the 21st and again on the 24th of September, complaining in strong terms of the deficiency, and insisting that it should be supplied.

With the anxiety for peace which now prevailed on both sides a few days sufficed to settle the principal conditions. It was agreed with respect to Spain and Portugal that each should preserve the same limits as before hostilities began. The Spaniards were required to concede all the three points on which their Declaration of War against England had been founded,—referring the questions of capture to British Courts of Law,—admitting our claim to cut log-wood in Honduras,—and relinquishing their own to catch fish off Newfoundland. Indeed, as to this Spanish claim of fishery, says Sir Joseph Yorke, "it is a point we should not dare to yield, "as Mr. Pitt told them, though they were masters "of the Tower of London!"†

* From private information to Mr. Adolphus (Hist., vol. i. p. 96. ed. 1840.) Compare his narrative with Mr. Wright's (Cavendish Debates, vol. i. p. 627.) and Mr. Thackeray's (Life of Chatham, vol. ii. p. 11).

† To Mr. Mitchell, October 9. 1762.

With respect to France and England, it was agreed that each should refrain from taking any further part or furnishing any further succours in the German war. The French troops were to restore whatever territories they held in Hesse or Hanover, and evacuate those of Cleves and Gueldres. Minorca was to be exchanged for Belleisle, and the harbour of Dunkirk reduced to the state which had been fixed by the peace of Aix La Chapelle, and by preceding treaties.

In America, France ceded to England the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, with stipulations for the free exercise of their religion by the Roman Catholics of Canada, and that such of them as chose might have liberty to leave the country, and transport their effects, within the space of the ensuing eighteen months. The limits of Louisiana were more strictly defined. The French were to enjoy the right of fishery on part of the coasts of Newfoundland and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and to possess the small islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, as a shelter for their fishermen, under the express condition of never raising any batteries, or maintaining more than fifty soldiers for their guard. England restored to France the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, and St. Lucia, but retained Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada.

In Africa the French were to relinquish Senegal, but recover Goree,—and in the East Indies they bound themselves to keep no troops and raise no

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

fortifications in Bengal, on which terms the factories and settlements which they held before the war were given back to their possession.

Moreover, it was agreed that any conquests that might meanwhile have been made by any of the parties in any quarter of the globe, but which were not yet known (words comprising at that period of the negotiation both the Havanna and the Philippines), should be restored without compensation.

With these terms, Preliminary Articles were in a very short time almost ready for signature at Paris. But they were delayed by Grimaldi, the Spanish Ambassador, who knowing only the commencement of the siege of the Havanna, and confident in the strength of that place, fully expected some great disaster to the British arms.* When the news came, that on the contrary the Spanish strong-hold was surrendered, Grimaldi's objections to the treaty vanished,—but objections, as was natural, arose in another quarter. Mr. Grenville and Lord Egremont urged to their colleagues the propriety, nay, necessity of demanding some equivalent for the Havanna. Lord Bute, on the contrary, with his headlong eagerness for peace, expressed his fears lest the negotiation should thus be embarrassed or delayed; he wished to conclude the preliminaries upon the same terms as if this last conquest had never been made; and he pro-

* Sismondi, Histoire des Français, vol. xxix. p. 263. Lord Egremont's despatch announcing to the Duke of Bedford the surrender of the Havanna, is dated September 29. 1762. M.S. State Paper Office.

posed that its name should only be mentioned as one of the places to be restored. So strong was the difference of opinion on this essential point that it led, as we shall presently see, to Mr. Grenville's resignation of the Seals. But as he still remained in office, though in another and inferior department, and as he and Lord Egremont still continued to press their views with the certain support of popular opinion, Lord Bute was at length compelled in some degree to give way. On the 26th of October—for not until the previous day had the difference in the Cabinet been finally composed—instructions were sent to the Duke of Bedford desiring him to insist upon the cession either of Florida or of Porto Rico, in return for the Havanna.* Florida appears to have been granted with little of real difficulty or delay; and there seems good reason to believe that with a moderate degree of firmness and perseverance in the English Cabinet both cessions might have been obtained.

Thus then, on the 3d of November, the Preliminaries of Peace, on the terms I have already set forth, were signed at Fontainebleau. By a private Convention between France and Spain, the colony of Louisiana was ceded to the latter power, as some recompense for its loss of Florida.

* Earl of Egremont to the Duke of Bedford, October 26. 1762.—On the 11th the Duke had transmitted a representation from the French Ministers, stating, that the demand of even the smallest territorial equivalent for the Havanna might perhaps prevent, and must certainly delay, the conclusion of a peace. See the Appendix to this volume.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

It is related by Mr. Wood, Under-Secretary of State, that, being directed to submit these preliminaries to Lord Granville, who was then upon his death-bed, and who expired a short time afterwards:—"I found him so languid that I proposed "postponing my business for another time; but he "insisted that I should stay, saying, it could not "prolong his life to neglect his duty. He then "desired to hear the treaty read, to which he "listened with great attention, and recovered "spirits enough to declare the approbation of a "dying statesman (I use his own words) on the "most glorious war, and the most honourable "peace this nation ever saw."* The calm reflections of posterity will not, I think, confirm this partial judgment. To them the terms obtained will appear by no means fully commensurate to the conquests that we had made, nor to the expectations which had been, not unreasonably, raised. As to Lord Bute's eagerness to set at nought the blood so gloriously shed at the Havanna, and to fling away that important conquest, without any compensation, there can scarcely, I imagine, be more than one opinion. But, besides the relinquishing of Porto Rico by his haste, and the gaining of Florida in his own despite, there seems no reason to doubt that, with a more lofty and resolute spirit in our councils, we might easily have retained Goree, with either Guadaloupe or Martinico, and a part at least of the French settlements in the East Indies. If,—as was urged by

* Essay on Homer; Preface.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

Lord Bute and his friends, to excuse their over-zeal for peace,—our National Debt had been doubled during the war, and already amounted to 122,600,000*l.**—it might not be impossible to retort that argument against them, and to contend that so large an expenditure, most successfully applied, called in the negotiation for entirely corresponding and adequate advantages. But although the amount of the possessions finally secured to us by France (for I cannot call them cessions, when every one, except Minorca, was already in our hands,) appears not quite equal to our just claims, yet I think it still further removed from that "most "treacherous, insecure, and disgraceful capitula-"tion," which party-hatred hastened to proclaim it. The misrepresentations against this treaty were undoubtedly far greater than even its defects.

Before, however, I pass from the consideration of these Preliminaries, I must observe, that the same party rancour which so virulently arraigned them produced also a personal charge of corruption against Lord Bute. This charge was in 1770 publicly brought before the House of Commons by Dr. Musgrave, but was then signally foiled.† It did not, however, on that account die away. Many years afterwards Mr. Wilberforce states it as follows in his Private Diary: "I dined with "Lord Camden. . . . . He is sure that Lord Bute "got money by the peace of Paris. He can

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, book v. ch. 3. This refers only to the Funded Debt.

† Parl. Hist., vol. xvi. p. 763—785.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

"account for his sinking near 300,000*l.* in land "and houses; and his paternal estate in the island "which bears his name is not above 1,500*l.* a year; "and he is a life-tenant only of Wortley, which "may be 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.*"*—Little inclined as I have shown myself to applaud Lord Bute's public course of policy, I feel bound to point out the great improbability of this charge, and above all the great hardship and injustice of condemning any character, even on a Chancellor's authority, without a trace of legal proof.

During these negotiations,—and in part resulting from them,—occurred some Ministerial changes. Lord Anson had died in the course of the summer, and his place at the Board of Admiralty had been supplied by the Earl of Halifax. But when the difference of opinion respecting the Havanna induced Mr. Grenville to resign the Seals and the lead of the House of Commons, without, however, retiring from the administration,—he became First Lord of the Admiralty, and Halifax Secretary of State. This arrangement made it necessary for Lord Bute to place the guidance of the House of Commons in other hands; and, indeed, had Mr. Grenville even been willing to retain it, the defence of the Treaty might probably have required greater powers of debate than he possessed. Under these circumstances, Lord Bute pitched

* Wilberforce's Private Diary, July 16. 1789.—Life, vol. i. p. 233. ed. 1838. I need scarcely notice a similar charge brought against the Duke of Bedford by the anonymous and unscrupulous pen of *Junius*.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

upon a statesman still in office, yet already well-nigh forgotten, and the survivor of his own brilliant reputation.—It was decided that Mr. Fox,—while retaining his post of Paymaster, and only adding to it a sinecure for life*,—should be admitted into the Cabinet, and be considered the responsible Minister of the Crown in the Lower House. His ill-health appears to have been the main obstacle to his acceptance of the Seals.

The Opposition meanwhile was rapidly gathering strength. His Royal Highness of Cumberland declared himself hostile to the Ministers; and the old Duke of Newcastle, having now decidedly engaged against them, was eagerly, and in all directions, beating up for recruits. Thanks in a great measure to his influence and persuasion, two other great Whig noblemen,—the Duke of Devonshire, and, soon after him, the Marquis of Rockingham,—resigned their places in the Royal Household. These defections (for so they were termed at Court), and, above all, that of Devonshire as Lord Chamberlain, were in the highest degree galling to the Favourite. Unhappily he knew how to communicate his resentment and indignation to his Master. A few days afterwards the King in Council called for the Council-book, and ordered the Duke of Devonshire's name to be struck from the list,—a most wanton indignity to a man of most unblemished character, which the precedents

* "Writer of the Tallies and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland." Commons Journals, November 25. 1762.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

of Pulteney and Lord George Sackville,—almost the only ones,—are wholly insufficient to excuse.*

Among the men in office whom the Duke of Newcastle was incessantly exhorting and enticing to resign was the Treasurer of the Navy, Lord Barrington, who owed considerable obligations to His Grace. Lord Barrington himself has left a curious, and as yet unpublished, record of the conferences upon this occasion: "Finding His "Grace was in town, and desired to see me, I "went directly to Newcastle House..... The "Duke said to me: Your friends resign,—the "Duke of Devonshire, Lord Rockingham, and so "forth.—I answered, that I honoured them all, "and was very sorry they had quitted the King's "service, but that resigning only because others "had so done was faction.—He said he had been "ill-used.—I answered: 'My Lord, when you "'quitted I offered to quit with you, which you "'did not suffer your friends to do. You have "'not been ill-used since; but I have the greatest "'obligations to you; and therefore, if you now "'insist upon my quitting, as a personal return to "'you for them, and will allow me to give this "'reason to my friends and the world, it may "'justify my resignation to them and myself.'— "This the Duke declined, but pressed my resig-

* "This proceeding is almost novel, having never happened "but to Lord Bath and Lord George Sackville." (H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 9. 1762.) Lord Rockingham resigned after, and notwithstanding, this violent measure. The Duke's kinsmen, Lords George Cavendish and Besborough, also threw up their places.

" nation for my own sake.—I answered, that I " could not justify distressing a government which " had used me kindly, and had not acted so as to " justify opposition.—The Duke then told me he " wished me well, but would never more talk with " me on business.—I would have entered into fur- " ther matter, but he said he was busy, and took " leave of me.—I said, I should ever acknowledge " my obligations to him, and act accordingly,— " which he said was only words!"*

With so many and such bitter adversaries, the prospects of the new administration were far from hopeful. Horace Walpole writes in October: " Whether peace or war, I would not give Lord " Bute much for the place he will have this day " twelvemonth."† And at nearly the same period Lord Chesterfield adds: " I should naturally think " that this Session will be a stormy one; that is, if " Mr. Pitt takes an active part; but if he is pleased, " as the Ministers say, there is no other Æolus to " blow a storm."‡ It soon appeared, however, that the great ruler of the tempest was very far from pleased.

Such was the state and such the prospect of parties when the Parliament met on the 25th of November. The reception of His Majesty as he passed along the crowded streets indicated a decline of his popularity; and Lord Bute was hissed and pelted both in going and returning.

* Memoir by Lord Barrington, inserted in his Life by the Bishop of Durham, p. 73—85. (Unpublished.)

† To the Hon. H. S. Conway, October 4. 1762.

‡ To his Son, November 13. 1762.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1762.

Within doors nothing of importance occurred on this first day; Pitt was absent from gout, and Fox for re-election. But when the Preliminaries of Peace had been duly laid before both Houses, an Address in approbation of them was moved on the 19th of December by Lord Bute in the Lords and by Fox in the Commons. Lord Bute was answered by Lord Hardwicke at great length, and with his usual ability; but so small appeared the number of dissentients to the Treaty that the Opposition did not venture to call for a division. In the other House Pitt rose as soon as Fox had sat down, and inveighed against the peace with much eloquence and more exaggeration. There was scarcely an article that did not afford him topics of censure, nor was he sparing,—in an account of his own previous negotiation,—of reflections against Lord Bute. "I contended," he cried, "several "times in vain for the whole exclusive fishery, but "I was overruled; I repeat I was overruled, not "by the foreign enemy, but by another enemy!" —This remarkable speech extended to the length of three hours and a half, although Pitt, even at the outset, was suffering an agony of pain from his gout; when he rose he was supported by two friends; as he proceeded he was allowed the indulgence, as yet unprecedented, of speaking from his seat; and at the conclusion he was compelled to leave the House without taking part in the division. The result of that division was no more commensurate to his eloquence than the terms of peace had been to our triumphs in war;—319

Members were found to vote for the Preliminaries and only 65 against them.

Cheered by such majorities, the Government sent instructions to the Duke of Bedford to proceed with the definitive Treaty. Though no material point was changed, several weeks were consumed in its negotiation. It was at length concluded on the 10th of February 1763, and from the place of its signature was called the Peace of Paris.

By the withdrawal of France and England from the German contest, and by the previous secession of Russia and Sweden, Frederick and Maria Theresa were left to wage the war single-handed, for the electorate of Saxony, of which by far the greater part was in Prussian hands, had long become a burthen instead of a benefit to Austria. But when so mighty an alliance had failed of success, what hope could remain to the Empress Queen alone? Accordingly, soon after the close of the campaign, she intimated her readiness for peace; a truce was forthwith concluded, and a negotiation begun. M. de Hertzberg on the part of Prussia, M. de Collenbach on the part of Austria, and M. de Fritsch on the part of Saxony, met at the hunting-palace of Hubertsburg between Dresden and Leipsick. The terms of the treaty were not hard to adjust. Frederick had more than once declared, even at the lowest pitch of his fortunes, that he would not purchase peace at the sacrifice of even a single village, and though the Ministers of Maria Theresa struggled for the retention of Glatz (the only one of her conquests which still

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1763.

remained to her), they speedily yielded, and all three parties were reinstated in the same territory as before the war. With this basis the peace was signed on the 15th of February. Six weeks afterwards Frederick made a public entry into his capital, which he had not seen for six years; he sat in an open carriage with Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at his side; and the people of Berlin, thinned as they were in numbers, and well-nigh ruined in fortunes, by the long-protracted war, greeted with enthusiastic shouts the heroes of their country.* Never had any Sovereign waged so arduous a contest with more undeviating spirit or more varying success. Of ten pitched battles where he commanded in person he had been worsted in three and victorious in seven. Of six, where other chiefs directed the Prussian armies, every one, except only Prince Henry's at Freyberg, had been a defeat. According to Frederick's own computation he had lost in these terrible seven years 180,000 soldiers, while of Russians there had fallen 120,000, of Austrians 140,000, and of French 200,000. But such numbers, vast as they seem, give a most inadequate idea of all the misery, desolation, and havoc which this warfare had wrought. Pestilence had swept away many peaceful thousands; whole districts, especially in Brandenburg and Pomerania, were turned to wastes; all the best

* The population of Berlin, which in 1747 was 107,224 souls, had in 1761 declined to 98,238, of whom no less than 30,000 were reduced to subsist on weekly alms. (Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 349.)

dwellings laid in ashes; the very seed-corn in part devoured, and none but women and children left to follow the plough! An officer reports that he rode through seven villages of Hesse in which he found only one single human being; a clergyman who was boiling horse-beans for his dinner!* But no dangers could vanquish, no sufferings exhaust, the patriotic spirit of the Prussians. Seeing the independence of their country at stake, they scarcely even murmured or complained; they showed themselves ready in such a cause to encounter the worst perils with unshrinking courage, and endure the worst hardships with magnanimous patience. I have always thought their conduct as a people during the two appalling struggles of 1756 and 1813 deserving of the highest admiration. From other countries and other ages History can show several chiefs as great as Frederick, and many chiefs greater than Blücher. How few, on the contrary, are the nations that, like the Prussian at these two periods, have stood firm against foreign invaders with the utmost energy and the utmost moderation combined,—never relenting in their just hostility, and never venting it, like some southern races, in deeds of tumult and assassination,—proud of their martial renown, yet not blindly relying upon it, and always vindicating that pride by fresh achievements and accumulated glories!

CHAP. XXXVIII 1763.

* Archenholtz, vol. ii. p. 280.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

INDIA.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

If in some fairy tale or supernatural legend we were to read of an island, seated far in the Northern seas, so ungenial in its climate and so barren in its soil that no richer fruits than sloes or blackberries were its aboriginal growth,—whose tribes of painted savages continued to dwell in huts of sedge, or, at best, pile together altars of rude stone, for ages after other nations widely spread over the globe had already achieved wondrous works of sculpture and design, the gorgeous rock-temples of Ellora, the storied obelisks of Thebes, or the lion-crested portals of Mycenæ;—If it were added, that this island had afterwards by skill and industry attained the highest degree of artificial fertility, and combined in its luxury the fruits of every clime,—that the sea, instead of remaining its barrier, had become almost a part of its empire,—that its inhabitants were now amongst the foremost of the earth in commerce and in freedom, in arts and in arms,—that their indomitable energy had subdued, across fifteen thousand miles of ocean, a land ten times more extensive than their own,—that in this territory they

now peacefully reigned over one hundred and twenty millions of subjects or dependents,—the race of the builders of Ellora, and the heirs of the Great Mogul!—If, further still, we were told that in this conquest the rule of all other conquests had been reversed,—that the reign of the strangers, alien in blood, in language, and in faith, had been beyond any other in that region fraught with blessings,—that humanity and justice, the security of life and property, the progress of improvement and instruction, were far greater under the worst of the foreign governors than under the best of the native princes;—with what scorn might we not be tempted to fling down the lying scroll,—exclaiming that even in fiction there should be some decent bounds of probability observed,—that even in the Arabian Nights no such prodigies are wrought by spells or talismans,—by the lamp of Aladdin or the seal of Solomon!

To the marvels of this the most remarkable event in politics since the discovery of the New World,—the subjugation of India by the English,—might be added, how seldom and how imperfectly its particulars are known to the English themselves. Men of education and knowledge amongst us will generally be found far better versed in other modern achievements of much less magnitude, and in which our countrymen had no concern. The reason is, I conceive, that the historians of British India, some of them eminent in other respects, all require from their readers for their due comprehen-

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

sion a preliminary stock of Eastern lore. Perhaps a stronger popular impression might attend a less learned and less copious work. Meanwhile, to trace the origin of our Eastern greatness in a slight but clear and faithful outline,—however feebly performed, is at least no unworthy aim. I shall endeavour in this and the following chapter to shadow forth the first part of the career,—sometimes, it is true, marred by incapacity, and sometimes stained by injustice,—but on the whole the career of genius and of valour, by which in less than fifty years a factory was changed into an empire.

The earliest authentic accounts of India and its inhabitants are derived from the expedition of Alexander. Modern critics have remarked with surprise how well the descriptions given by his officers portray what we now behold in that country at the distance of two thousand years. The delicate and slender forms of the people; their dark complexion; their black uncurled hair; their cotton raiment; their vegetable food; their training of elephants to battle; their division into separate castes; the prohibition of intermarriage from one caste to another; the name of Brachmani or Bramins to their priests; the custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands; —these, and several other particulars which Arrian has recorded, apply to the modern quite as perfectly as to the ancient Hindoos.* The progress

* Robertson's Historical Disquisition, p. 21 and 187, ed. 1791.

of Alexander in India itself did not extend beyond the district of the Punjaub, and the navigation of the Indus between that district and the sea. But on Affghanistan he made a more lasting impression; a dynasty which he founded in that country is proved by its coins to have subsisted during several generations; and a monument which he raised even now remains.—When, in May 1842, a melancholy train of captives, the survivors of the greatest military disaster that England had ever yet to mourn,—were slowly wending up the mountain-passes of Cabul, they beheld, towering high above them, the column of the Macedonian conqueror.*

Many ages after Alexander's expedition, the tide of Mahometan invasion, which had already overwhelmed the kingdom of Persia, approached the shores of the Indus and the Ganges. The gentle unwarlike Hindoos, with their antiquated forms of idolatry, were ill-fitted to withstand the enthusiasm of a new religion, and the energy of a fiercer race. But it is remarkable, that, widely as the disciples of the Koran spread in India, there was never, as in like cases, any amalgamation between the conquered and the conquerors,—between the old

* Compare, on Alexander's Pillar, Lady Sale's Journal (p. 354) with Lieut. Eyre's (p. 301.) For the Greek reigns in Affghanistan I would refer the reader to the learned and important work of Professor H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, and to a note in the excellent History of early India by my much respected friend, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, (vol. i. p. 468—476.)

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

faith and the new. Although the Mahometans have succeeded in converting almost every man of almost every other nation that they conquered, and although in India they formed the sovereign and controlling power in so many states and for so many years, yet they do not now exceed, and never have exceeded, one seventh of the whole Indian population.

At the period of Alexander's invasion, as during most of the Mahometan conquests, the provinces of India do not appear combined in any general system, nor ruled by any single sovereign. Alexander found there separate and it would seem independent chiefs,—such as Porus,—whose appellation, according to modern commentators, was not a name, but a title;—merely the Greek ending added to the Indian POOR or prince.* Thus also neither Mahmoud of Ghuznee, nor Gengis-Khan, nor Tamerlane, had to encounter a sole monarch of India. But at the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era (I pass by the earlier dynasties) a great empire was founded at Agra by a race of Moguls. The first of these Emperors was Zehur-ood-Deen Mahomed, surnamed Baber, or the "Tiger," a descendant of the great Tamerlane. His own Memoirs, which are still preserved, relate in detail the exploits by which he overcame, and the arts by which he circumvented, his numerous opponents.

* Vincent on Nearchus, p. 19. Mitford's History of Greece, vol. viii. p. 206. ed. 1829.

He died in 1530, when on the point of carrying his arms beyond Bahar. But his schemes of conquest were fulfilled or exceeded by his successors, each of whom became known in Europe by the title of the Great Mogul. Above all, however, the name of Baber's grandson, Akbar, is yet famous through the East. During a reign of fifty years, concluding in 1605, he was ever waging fierce and successful wars, sometimes against rebellious provinces, sometimes against Hindoo tribes, and sometimes against Mahometan neighbours. Nevertheless, while thus extending his empire, he did not neglect its internal improvement; on the contrary, so numerous were his measures of legislation and finance that they rather seemed to betoken a period of uninterrupted peace.

Another reign, distinguished by conquest, and extending to half a century, was that of Aurungzebe. His armies spread far in the south of the Deccan, and overthrew the powerful RAJAHS or Princes of Beejapour and Golconda. But by far his most formidable enemy in this quarter was Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta dominion. For many years did this intrepid and wily chieftain balance on the south of the Nerbudda the fortunes of the Great Mogul. The tidings of his death, in 1680, at the untimely age of fifty-two, were as joyful to Aurungzebe as those of any victory; nor did the Emperor then attempt to conceal either his own satisfaction or the merits of his foe. "He "was," said Aurungzebe, "a great captain, and

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

"the only one who has had the magnanimity to "raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endea- "vouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of "India. My armies have been applied against "him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state "has been always increasing."*

The loss of Sivajee was, for the time at least, irreparable to the Mahrattas. Though never subdued, they were defeated and dispersed, and compelled to take shelter in their hill-forts or impervious jungles. Among other tribes, the Rajahs readily acknowledged themselves the tributaries or dependents of the Mogul Empire. Other states, again, became governed by SOUBAHDARS or Viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the Emperor. On the whole, it is probable that there never yet had been a time in Hindostan when the whole peninsula was so nearly brought beneath the supreme dominion of one man.

The power of Aurungzebe, and the magnificence of the Court of Delhi (for to Delhi had the seat of empire been again transferred), are described by more than one intelligent European traveller. "In "riches and resources," says Tavernier, "the Great "Mogul is in Asia what the King of France is in "Europe. . . . . When I took leave of His Majesty "on the 1st of November 1665 he was pleased to

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, p. 94. ed. 1805. From another passage (p. 263) it appears that Aurungzebe used to call Sivajee "the Mountain Rat," which, like the ὄνος of Homer (Il. lib. xi. vers. 557.), was designed for praise.

" desire that I should stay, and see the festivals in
" honour of his birth-day. . . . . On this occasion
" the Emperor is weighed in state, and if he is
" found to weigh more than on the preceding year
" there are great public rejoicings. The grandees
" of the empire, the Viceroys of the provinces, and
" the ladies of the Court, come to make their
" offerings, which, in precious stones, gold and
" silver, rich carpets and brocades, elephants,
" camels, and horses, amounted when I was pre-
" sent to upwards of thirty millions of our livres.
" . . . . The tents are of red velvet, embroidered
" with gold, so heavy that the poles which support
" them are as thick as the masts of ships, and some
" of them from thirty-five to forty feet in height.
" . . . . . The Great Mogul has seven splendid
" thrones; one covered with diamonds, another
" with rubies, with emeralds, or with pearls. The
" value of the one most precious (called the Pea-
" cock Throne) is estimated by the Royal Trea-
" surers at a number of lacs of rupees equivalent
" to above one hundred and sixty millions of livres.
" . . . . While the Emperor is on his throne fifteen
" horses stand ready caparisoned on his right and
" as many on his left, the bridles of each horse
" enriched with precious stones, and some great
" jewel dependent from his neck. . . . . Elephants
" are trained to kneel down before the throne, and
" do His Majesty reverence with their trunks; and
" the Emperor's favourite elephant costs five hun-
" dred rupees of monthly expense, being fed on

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

"good meat with abundance of sugar, and having "brandy to drink. . . . . When the Emperor rides "abroad on his elephant he is followed by a great "number of his OMRAHS, or nobles, on horseback, "—and the meanest of these Omrahs commands "two thousand cavalry."* Another traveller, Gemelli Carreri, in the year 1695, visited the camp of the Great Mogul. According to his description, "the Imperial army consisted of 60,000 horsemen "and 100,000 infantry; there were for the bag- "gage 5,000 camels and 3,000 elephants, but the "number of suttlers and camp-followers was im- "mense; so that the camp contained above half a "million of people. It was thirty miles in circuit. ". . . . Aurungzebe himself was of slender figure "and of delicate features; a little bent at this "time, with the weight of fourscore years. His "beard, which was white and full, shone forth in "striking contrast to his olive complexion."†

Aurungzebe expired in 1707; almost the only instance of either sovereign or statesman who has approached the age of one hundred years. The character of his successors,—as compared to his own, to Akbar's, and to Baber's,—was feeble and unwarlike. Throughout the East the fortunes of the state ever follow in quick succession the disposition of the Monarch; and thus the decline of the Mogul dynasty was most rapid and most

* I have here abridged a chapter of Tavernier. (Voyages, vol. ii. p. 266—272. ed. 1679.)

† Anecdotes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 441. ed. 1773.

complete. In little more than thirty years from the death of Aurungzebe the Persians under Nadir Shah had sacked the city of Delhi.* The Mahrattas, emerging from their fastnesses, had resumed their expeditions, and begun to aim at empire. The conquered Rajahs, or the appointed Soubahdars,—though still professing themselves dependent,—had ceased to pay any real obedience and submission to the Mogul throne.

In this distinction between nominal and substantial authority, the state of India might be, not unaptly, compared to the state at the same period of Germany. According to ancient forms, the princes who had long since become independent of the Germanic Emperor,—nay, who were sometimes hostile to him,—still continued, in name, the humblest of his vassals. The Margrave of Brandenburg was still Great Chamberlain, and the Elector of Hanover Arch-Treasurer of the Empire.† Yet Frederick the Second of Prussia would not have been more surprised had he been summoned, in conformity with his patent, to carry a white wand and a golden key in the pageantries of the palace at Vienna, than would the contemporary Rajahs of the Deccan if required to pay tribute or do homage to the Court of Delhi.

* Histoire de Nader Chah traduite par Sir W. Jones, vol. ii. p. 74. The bombast of Eastern panegyric extends even to the Sovereign's horse. "Le coursier de Sa Majesté, dont les pas "étaient semblables à ceux du soleil, et dont les traces s'éten- "daient dans tout l'univers," &c. &c. (p. 21.)

† Butler's Revolutions of the Germanic Empire, p. 105, &c.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

At nearly the same period that the Moguls were founding their empire along the Ganges did the Portuguese discover the passage of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco de Gama and his brave companions stepped on the Indian shore at Calicut in the month of May 1498. Seldom have truth and poetry been so closely combined; the achievement of that voyage by Vasco de Gama is the greatest feat of the Portuguese in arms; the celebration of that voyage by Luis de Camoens is their greatest feat in letters. The valour of their captains,—of their Albuquerque and their John de Castro,—overcame the resistance of the native chiefs, and made good their settlements from the coast of Malabar to the gulph of Persia,—at Goa and Ormuz. For some time it appears to have been thought by other European powers, that the discovery of the passage round Africa by the Portuguese gave them some exclusive claim to its navigation. But after the year 1580 the conquest of Portugal by Spain, and the example of the Dutch who had already formed establishments not only in India but the Spice Islands, aroused the commercial enterprise of England. In 1599 an Association was formed for the Trade to the East Indies; a sum was raised by subscription, amounting to 68,000*l.*; and a petition was presented to the Crown for a Royal Charter. Queen Elizabeth wavered during some time, apprehending fresh entanglements with Spain. At length, in December 1600, the boon was granted; the "Adventurers" (for so were

they termed at that time) were constituted a body corporate, under the title of "the Governor and "Company of Merchants of London trading into the "East Indies." By their Charter they obtained the right of purchasing lands without limitation, and the monopoly of their trade during fifteen years, under the direction of a Governor, and twenty-four other persons in Committee, to be elected annually. In the exercise of those privileges they had to contend against numerous opponents, at home as well as abroad, but they did not want powerful friends and allies. "I confess," writes Lord Bacon to King James on another occasion, "I "did ever think that trading in Companies is most "agreeable to the English nature, which wanteth "that same general vein of a Republic which "runneth in the Dutch, and serveth to them in-"stead of a Company, and therefore I dare not "advise to venture this great trade of the king-"dom, which hath been so long under Government, "in a free or loose trade."* Thus, in 1609, the Charter of the new Company was not only renewed but rendered perpetual,—with a saving clause, however, that should any national detriment be at any time found to ensue, these exclusive privileges should, after three years notice, cease and expire.

It does not seem, however, that the trade of the

* Bacon was here referring to the Woollen Trade. Letter to the King, February 25. 1615. Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 614. ed. 1740.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

new Company was extensive. Their first voyage consisted of four ships and one pinnace, having on board 28,742*l.* in bullion, and 6,860*l.* in goods, such as cloth, lead, tin, cutlery, and glass. Many other of their voyages were of smaller amount; thus, in 1612, when they united into a Joint Stock Company, they sent out only one ship, with 1,250*l.* in bullion and 650*l.* in goods. But their clear profits on their capital were immense; scarcely ever, it is stated, below 100 per cent.*

During the Civil Wars the Company shared in the decline of every other branch of trade and industry. But soon after the accession of Charles the Second they obtained a new Charter, which not only confirmed their ancient privileges but vested in them authority, through their agents in India, to make peace and war with any prince or people, not being Christians, and to seize within their limits, and send home as prisoners, any Englishmen found without a licence. It may well be supposed that in the hands of any exclusive Company this last privilege was not likely to lie dormant. Thus, on one occasion, when one of their Governors had been urged to enforce the penalties against interlopers with the utmost rigour, and had replied, that unhappily the laws of England would not let him proceed so far as might be wished,—Sir Josiah Child, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote back in anger, as follows: "We

* Mill's History, vol. i. p. 25. ed. 1826.

"expect that our orders are to be your rules, and "not the laws of England, which are a heap of "nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country "gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws "for the good of their own families, much less for "the regulating of Companies and foreign Com-"merce."*

The period of the Revolution was not so favourable to the Company as that of the Restoration. A rival Company arose, professing for its object greater freedom of trade with the East Indies, and supported by a majority in the House of Commons. It is said that the competition of these two Companies with the private traders and with one another had well nigh ruined both.† Certain it is that appointments under the new Company were sought as eagerly as under the old. I have found, for example, in the diplomatic correspondence of that period, an account of an English gentleman at Madrid, "who is resolved to return in hopes to be "entertained to go as a Writer to the East Indies "in the service of the New Company."‡

An Union between these Companies, essential, as it seemed, to their expected profits, was delayed by their angry feelings till 1702. Even then, by the Indenture which passed the Great Seal, several points were left unsettled between them, and

* Hamilton's New Account of India, vol. i. p. 232, as cited by Bruce and Mill.

† Wealth of Nations, book v. ch. i.

‡ Hon. Alexander Stanhope to his son, Madrid, June 1. 1699.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

separate transactions were allowed to their agents in India for the stocks already sent out. Thus the ensuing years were fraught with continued jarrings and contentions. But in 1708 the Government having required from each Company a loan without interest towards the expenses of the war, both heartily combined to avert, if they could, or at least to mitigate, the common danger. Their remaining differences were referred to the arbitration of the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin; and his award, which an Act of Parliament confirmed, placed the affairs of the two Companies on a firm and enduring basis. It was enacted, that the sum of 1,200,000*l.*, without interest, should be advanced to the Government by the United Company, which, being added to a former loan of 2,000,000*l.* at eight per cent., made upon the whole 3,200,000*l.* with five per cent. interest,—that they should be empowered to borrow, through their Court of Directors and upon their common seal, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.*,—and that their privileges should be continued till three years notice after 1726, and till repayment of their capital.—In 1712 they obtained a prolongation of their term till 1736; in 1730 till 1769; and in 1743 till 1783.*

* Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 257. 326. and 372. ed. 1764. In 1730 Sir Robert Walpole stipulated the abatement of the interest paid to them from five to four per cent., and their payment of 200,000*l.* towards the public service. In 1743 they agreed to advance another million at three per cent.

INDIA.

After the grant of the first Charter by Queen Elizabeth, and the growth of the Company's trade in India, their two main factories were fixed at Surat and Bantam. Surat was then the principal sea-port of the Mogul Empire, where the Mahometan pilgrims were wont to assemble for their voyages towards Mecca. Bantam, from its position in the island of Java, commanded the best part of the Spice trade. But at Surat the Company's servants were harassed by the hostility of the Portuguese, as at Bantam by the hostility of the Dutch. To such heights did these differences rise that in 1622 the English assisted the Persians in the recovery of Ormuz from the Portuguese, and that in 1623 the Dutch committed the outrage termed the "Massacre of Amboyna,"—putting to death, after a trial, and confession of guilt extorted by torture, Captain Towerson and nine other Englishmen, on a charge of conspiracy. In the final result, many years afterwards, the factories both at Bantam and Surat were relinquished by the Company. Other and newer settlements of theirs had, meanwhile, grown into importance. —In 1640 the English obtained permission from a Hindoo Prince in the Carnatic to purchase the ground adjoining the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, on which they proceeded to raise Fort St. George and the town of Madras. "At "the Company's first beginning to build a fort," —thus writes the Agency,—"there were only "the French PADRE's and about six fishermen's

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

"houses!"* But in a very few years Madras had became a thriving town.—About twenty years afterwards, on the marriage of Charles the Second to Catherine of Braganza, the town and island of Bombay were ceded to the King of England as a part of the Infanta's dowry. For some time the Portuguese Governor continued to evade the grant, alleging that the patent of His Majesty was not in accordance with the customs of Portugal; he was compelled to yield; but the possession being found on trial to cost more than it produced, it was given up by King Charles to the East India Company, and became one of their principal stations.

Nor was Bengal neglected. Considering the beauty and richness of that province, a proverb was already current among the Europeans, that there are a hundred gates for entering and not one for leaving it.† The Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English had established their factories at or near the town of Hooghly on one of the branches—also called Hooghly—of the Ganges. But during the reign of James the Second the imprudence of some of the Company's servants, and the seizure of a Mogul junk, had highly incensed the native powers. The English found it necessary to leave Hooghly, and drop twenty-five miles down the river, to the village of Chuttanuttee. Some petty hostilities

* See a note to Orme's Historical Fragments on the Mogul Empire, p. 230.

† Anecdotes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 342. ed. 1773.

ensued, not only in Bengal but along the coasts of India; several small factories of the Company were taken and plundered, nor did they speed well in their endeavours either for defence or reprisal. It was about this period that their settlement at Surat was finally transferred to Bombay. So much irritated was Aurungzebe at the reports of these hostilities, that he issued orders for the total expulsion of the Company's servants from his dominions, but he was appeased by the humble apologies of the English traders, and the earnest intercession of the Hindoo, to whom this commerce was a source of profit.—The English might even have resumed their factory at Hooghly, but preferred their new station at Chuttanuttee, and in 1698 obtained from the Mogul, on payment of an annual rent, a grant of the land on which it stood. Then, without delay, they began to construct for its defence a citadel, named Fort William, under whose shelter there grew by degrees from a mean village the great town of Calcutta,—the capital of modern India. Perhaps no other city,—excepting its contemporary, Petersburg,—has ever in a century and a half from its origin attained so high a pitch of splendour and importance.*—A letter is now before me which I once received from a Governor

* It is remarkable how much these two cities resemble each other. Bishop Heber writes from Calcutta: "The whole is so "like some parts of Petersburg that it is hardly possible for "me to fancy myself any where else." Journal, October 11. 1824.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

General of India, accustomed to all the magnificence of European Courts, but describing with eloquent warmth his admiration and astonishment at the first view of Calcutta,—"the City of Pa-"laces," as he declares it most truly termed.

At nearly the same period another station,—Tegnapatam, a town on the coast of Coromandel, to the south of Madras,—was obtained by purchase. It was surnamed Fort St. David, was strengthened with walls and bulwarks, and was made subordinate to Madras for its government.

Thus then before the accession of the House of Hanover these three main stations,—Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay,—had been erected into Presidencies, or central posts of Government; not, however, as at present, subject to one supreme authority, but each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a President and a Council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the Court of Directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the Company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. Among these the descendants of the older settlers, especially the Portuguese, were called Topasses,—from the TOPE or hat which they wore instead of turban. The natives,—as yet ill-armed and ill-trained,—were known by the name of Sepoys,—a corruption from the Indian word SIPAHI, a soldier. But the territory of the English

scarcely extended out of sight of their towns, nor had their military preparations any other object than the unmolested enjoyment of their trade. Far from aiming at conquest and aggrandisement, they had often to tremble for their homes. So lately as 1742 the "Mahratta Ditch" was dug round a part of Calcutta, to protect the city from an inroad of the fierce race of Sivajee.

Even before the commencement of the eighteenth century it might be said that all rivalry had ceased in India between the Company's servants and the Dutch or Portuguese. The latter, besides their treaties of close alliance with England, had utterly declined from their ancient greatness and renown. The Dutch directed by far their principal attention to their possessions in Java and the adjoining islands. But another still more formidable power had already struck root on the Indian soil.—The French under Louis the Fourteenth had established an East India Company, in emulation of our own; like us, they had obtained a settlement on the Hooghly river;—at Chandernagore, above Calcutta; like us, they had built a fort on the coast of the Carnatic, about eighty miles south of Madras, which they called Pondicherry. In Malabar and Candeish they had no settlement to vie with Bombay; but, on the other hand, they had colonised two fertile islands in the Indian ocean;—the one formerly a Dutch possession, and called Mauritius, from Prince Maurice of Orange; the second, discovered by the Portuguese, with the

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

appellation of Mascarenhas, from one of their Indian Viceroys.* The first now received the name of Isle de France, and the second of Isle de Bourbon, and both, under the assiduous care of their new masters, rapidly grew in wealth and population. On the whole, the settlements of the French on the Indian coasts and seas were governed by two Presidencies,—the one at Isle de France, the other at Pondicherry.

It so chanced, that at the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 both the French Presidencies were ruled by men of superior genius. Mahé de La Bourdonnais commanded at Isle de France; a man of Breton blood, full of the generous ardour, of the resolute firmness, which have ever marked that noble race. Since his tenth year he had served in the Navy on various voyages from the Baltic to the Indian seas, and he had acquired consummate skill, not only in the direction and pilotage but in the building and equipment of a fleet. Nor was he less skilled in the cares of civil administration. It is to him that the Mauritius owes the first dawn of its present prosperity. In the words of an eye-witness: "Whatever I have seen in that island most "usefully devised or most ably executed was the

* This was, I conceive, Don Pedro de Mascarenhas, the eighth Viceroy. Camoens has addressed to him some spirited lines (Lusiad, canto x. stanzas 55—57.), which, however, I can only admire through a translation.

"work of La Bourdonnais."* Ever zealous for his country's welfare, he was yet incapable of pursuing it by any other means than those of honour and good faith.

Dupleix was the son of a Farmer General, and the heir of a considerable fortune. From early youth he had been employed by the French East India Company, and had gradually risen to the government of Pondichérry and of all the subordinate factories on the continent of Hindostan. During his whole career he had zealously studied the interests of the Company, without neglecting his own, and the abilities which he had displayed were great and various. The calculations of commerce were not more habitual or more easy to him than the armaments of war or the wiles of diplomacy. With the idea of Indian sovereignty ever active in his mind, he had plunged headlong into all the tangled and obscure intrigues of the native powers. Above all he caballed with the native NABOB or deputed Prince of Arcot, or, as sometimes called, of the Carnatic, (Arcot being the capital, and Carnatic the country,) and with his superior the Soubahdar or Viceroy of the Deccan, more frequently termed the NIZAM. Beguiled by a childish vanity, he was eager to assume for himself, as they did, the pompous titles of NABOB and BAHAUDER, which, as he

* Bernardin de St. Pierre (Préambule à Paul et Virginie). He adds, bitterly: "Oh vous qui vous occupez du bonheur des "hommes n'en attendez point de recompense pendant votre "vie!"

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

pretended, had been conferred upon him by the Court of Delhi. It would almost seem, moreover, as if in this intercourse or this imitation he had derived from the neighbouring Princes something of their usual duplicity and falsehood, their jealousy and their revenge. His breach of faith on several occasions with his enemies is even less to be condemned than his perfidy to some of his own countrymen and colleagues. But fortunate was it perhaps for the supremacy of England in the East, that two such great commanders as Dupleix and La Bourdonnais should by the fault of the first have become estranged from any effective combination, and have turned their separate energies against each other.

On the declaration of war in 1744 an English squadron under Commodore Barnet had been sent to the Indian seas. M. de La Bourdonnais, on his part, exerting his scanty means with indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in fitting out nine ships, but nearly all leaky and unsound, and he embarked upwards of 3,000 men, but of these there were 400 invalids and 700 Caffres or Lascars. On the 6th of July, New Style, 1746, the two fleets engaged near Fort St. David, but the battle began and ended in a distant cannonade. Next morning the English stood out to sea, while the French directed their course to Pondicherry. The object of La Bourdonnais was the capture of Madras, and he made a requisition on Dupleix for some stores and sixty pieces of artillery. But the jealous mind of

Dupleix could ill brook contributing to his rival's success. He refused the stores, allowed only thirty cannon of inferior calibre, and sent on board water so bad as to produce a dysentery in the fleet.*

Not disheartened, however, by these unexpected difficulties, La Bourdonnais appeared off Madras in September 1746, and proceeeded to disembark his motley force. The city, though at this period rich and populous, was ill-defended; one division, called "the Black Town," only covered by a common wall; the other, "the White Town," or Fort St. George, begirt with a rampart and bastions, but these very slight and faulty in construction. There were but 300 Englishmen in the colony, and of them only 200 were soldiers. Under such circumstances no effective resistance could be expected; nevertheless the garrison sustained a bombardment during three days, and obtained at last an honourable capitulation. It was agreed that the English should be prisoners of war upon parole, and that the town should remain in possession of the French until it should be ransomed, La Bourdonnais giving his promise that the ransom required

* From the commencement of hostilities in 1746 I find a sure and faithful guide in Mr. Orme. (History of Military Transactions, 2 volumes, ed. 1803.) Mr. Mill's narrative is much less minute, but drawn in some measure from other materials, and with a different point of view. The Life of Clive by Sir John Malcolm (3 vols. ed. 1836), though ill-digested, is fraught with many interesting facts and letters, and the article upon it by Mr. Macaulay (Edinburgh Review, No. cxlii.) is equally accurate and brilliant.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

should be fair and moderate. The sum was fixed some time afterwards between the French Commander and the English Council at 440,000*l.* On these terms the invaders marched in; the keys were delivered by the Governor at the gate, and the French colours were displayed from Fort St. George. La Bourdonnais had been the more readily induced to grant this capitulation since his instructions were peremptory against his retaining any English factory which he might succeed in seizing.*—Not a single Frenchman had been killed during the siege, and only four or five English from the explosion of the bombs.

There were two persons, however, even among his own confederates, to whom the success of La Bourdonnais gave no pleasure; the Nabob of Arcot and the Governor of Pondicherry. At the first news of the siege, this Nabob, Anwar-ood-Deen by name, sent a letter to Dupleix, vehemently complaining of the presumption of the French in attacking Madras without his permission as prince of the surrounding district. Dupleix pacified his ally with a promise that the town, if taken, should be given up to him,—a promise which, there is little risk in affirming, Dupleix had never the slightest intention to fulfil. But Dupleix could not restrain his own resentment when he heard the

* "Il est expressément defendu au Sieur de la Bourdonnais "de s'emparer d'aucun établissement ou comptoir des ennemis "pour le conserver." Signé ORRY, CONTROLEUR GENERAL. (Mill, vol. iii. p. 61. ed. 1826.)

terms of the capitulation. To his views of sovereignty in India it was essential that the English should be expelled the country, and Madras be either retained or razed to the ground. Accordingly, when La Bourdonnais again disembarked at Pondicherry, with the spoils of the conquered town, a long and fierce altercation arose between the rival chiefs. La Bourdonnais urged, "Madras is my "conquest, and I am bound in honour to keep the "capitulation by which I entered it."—Dupleix answered, "Madras once taken becomes a town "within my sphere and under my jurisdiction, and "can only be disposed of as my judgment may "determine."—"You know the instructions which "I have received from the King," pursued La Bourdonnais; "they prohibit me from retaining "any conquest."—"You do not know the instruc-"tions which I have received from the Company," retorted Dupleix; "they authorize me to keep "Madras."*

These differences with Dupleix prevented La Bourdonnais from pursuing, as he had designed, his expedition against the other British settlements in India. A part of his fleet had been scattered and disabled by the Monsoon; but, on the other hand, he had been joined by a squadron from France, and, on the whole, his force was far superior to any that

* I derive this summary of the discussion or correspondence from the article DUPLEIX in the Biographie Universelle—an article written by the son of Lally, in part from MS. documents.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

the English could at this time and in this quarter bring against him. All his proposals, however, for an union of counsels and resources were scornfully rejected by Dupleix, who had now no other object than to rid himself of an aspiring colleague. For this object he stooped at length to deliberate falsehood. He gave a solemn promise to fulfil the capitulation of Madras, on the faith of which La Bourdonnais consented to re-embark, leaving a part of his fleet with Dupleix, and steering with the rest to Acheen, in quest of some English ships. Not succeeding in the search, he returned to the Mauritius, and from thence to France, to answer for his conduct. On his voyage home he was taken by the English, and conveyed to London, but was there received with respect, and dismissed on parole. At Paris, on the contrary, he found himself preceded by the perfidious insinuations of his rival. He was thrown into the Bastille, his fortune plundered, his papers seized, and his will torn open; himself secluded from his wife and children, and even debarred the use of pen and ink for his defence! When, at length, after many months suspense, he was examined before a Royal Commission, he heard his services denied, his integrity questioned, and the decline of commerce resulting from the war urged as his reproach. "Will you explain," asked of him one of the East India Directors, "how it happened that under "your management your own private affairs have "thriven so well, and those of the Company so

"ill?"—"Because," answered La Bourdonnais, without hesitation, "I managed my own affairs according to my own judgment, and I managed the Company's according to your instructions!"* After many harassing inquiries, and three years detention, his innocence was publicly acknowledged; but his long imprisonment had broken his health, or rather, perhaps, his heart; he lingered for some time in a painful illness, and in 1754 expired. The Government, wise and just too late, granted a pension to his widow.

Only seven days after La Bourdonnais had sailed from Pondicherry, Dupleix, in utter defiance of his recent promise, obtained a warrant from his Council annulling the capitulation of Madras. Thus, so far from restoring the city within a few weeks, on payment of the stipulated sum, the principal inhabitants were brought under a guard to Pondicherry, and paraded in triumph through the streets. Such conduct had, at least, the advantage of absolving them from the obligation of their previous parole, and several of them, assuming Hindoo attire or other disguises, made their way from Pondicherry to Fort St. David, the two settlements being less than twenty miles asunder. Among those who thus escaped was young Robert Clive, then a merchant's clerk, afterwards a conqueror and statesman.

It was not long ere some troops were sent out by Dupleix (Dupleix himself was no warrior)

* Bernardin de St. Pierre, Œuvres, vol. vi. p. 17. ed. 1820.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

for the reduction of Fort St. David; but the Nabob of Arcot, to whom the cession of Madras had been promised, being now disappointed in his hopes, and filled with resentment, joined his forces to the English, and the invaders were repulsed with loss. Not discouraged, Dupleix opened a new negotiation with the Nabob, who, on some fresh lures held out to him, consented to desert the English, and again embrace the French interest, with the usual fickleness of an Asiatic despot. Thus, in March 1747, Dupleix could under better auspices resume his expedition against Fort St. David, and his soldiers were advancing, as they thought, to a certain conquest, when a number of ships were descried in the offing as about to anchor in the roads. These were no sooner recognized as English than the French relinquished their design, and hastened back to Pondicherry.

The English fleet, thus opportune in its appearance, was commanded by Admiral Griffin, who had been sent from England with two men of war to strengthen the Bengal squadron. In the next ensuing months further reinforcements, both naval and military, were brought at different times by Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence; the former taking the chief command at sea, and the second on shore. So large was this accession of force as to turn at once, and heavily, the scale against the French. It became possible, nay, even, as it seemed, not difficult, to retaliate the loss of Madras by the capture of Pondicherry.

With this view the English took the field in August 1748, having in readiness 2,700 European troops, 1,000 sailors, who had been taught the manual exercise during the voyage, and 2,000 Sepoys in the service of the Company. At the news of this armament, the greatest, perhaps, from modern Europe which India had yet seen, the Nabob of Arcot hastened to change sides once more, and declare himself an English ally; he even promised the succour of 2,000 horse, but only sent 300. Dupleix, on his part, could muster 1,800 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys, but his dispositions were by far the more skilful and able. Though accused of too much considering his own safety, and always keeping beyond the reach of shot*, he, at all events, knew how to inspire his men with military ardour, while the English were dispirited by the want of practice in their commanders, wasted by sickness, and harassed by the rains, which had begun three weeks before the usual season. At length they found it necessary to raise the siege, after thirty-one days of open trenches, and the loss of 1,000 men. The French Governor, in his usual boastful strain, immediately proclaimed his triumph by letters to all the chief Soubahdars of India, and even to the Great Mogul.

* This was one of the accusations afterwards brought against Dupleix by the French East India Company. Dupleix does not seem to have denied the facts, but he pleaded *que le bruit des armes suspendait ses reflexions et que le calme seul convenait à son genie!* (Mill's Hist. vol. iii. p. 74.)

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

Such was the state of affairs in India when the tidings came that a peace had been signed at Aix La Chapelle, and that a restitution of conquests had been stipulated. It became necessary for Dupleix to yield Madras to the English, which he did with extreme reluctance, and after long delay. On this occasion of recovering Madras, the English also took possession of St. Thomé, which the natives had conquered from the Portuguese, but which of late "seemed," says Mr. Orme, "to "belong to nobody, for there were no officers, "either civil or military, acting with authority in "the place." *

The rival settlements of Pondicherry and Madras, though now debarred from any further direct hostility, were not long in assailing each other indirectly, as auxiliaries, in the contests of the native Princes. A new scene was rapidly opening to the ambition of Dupleix. The Nizam, or Viceroy of the Deccan under the Mogul, had lately died, and been succeeded by his son, Nazir Jung, but one of his grandsons, Mirzapha Jung, had claimed the vacant throne. At the same time, in the dependent province of the Carnatic, Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob, appeared as a competitor to the reigning Prince, Anwar-ood-Deen. There seems the less necessity to weigh the justice of these various claims, since it scarcely formed an element in the consideration of those who espoused them.

* Orme's Hist., vol. i. p. 131.

Neither the French nor the English at this period had any object in such struggles beyond their own aggrandizement, and the humiliation of their rivals; and, moreover, so loose and unsettled were then the politics of India,—with the authority of the Great Mogul supreme in theory and null in fact,—that plausible arguments might have been found in favour of the worst pretensions. Dupleix eagerly seized the opportunity to enhance his own importance, by establishing through his aid a Viceroy of the Deccan and a Nabob of the Carnatic. He promised his support to the two pretenders, who had combined their interests and their armies, and who were now reinforced with 2,000 Sepoys and several hundred Europeans. Nor did they want skilful officers from Pondicherry; one, above all, the Marquis de Bussy, showed himself no less able in the field than Dupleix was in council. In August 1749 a battle ensued beneath the fort of Amboor, when the discipline of the French auxiliaries turned the tide of victory, and when the veteran and subtle Nabob, Anwar-ood-Deen, was slain. His capital, Arcot, and the greater part of his dominions, fell into the hands of the conquerors. His son, Mahomed Ali, with the wreck of his army, fled to Trichinopoly, and endeavoured to maintain himself, assuming the title of Nabob of Arcot, and acknowledged as such by the English; but their zeal in his behalf was faint and languid, and, moreover, they were at this juncture entangled with some insignificant operations in Tanjore. Dupleix,

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

on the contrary, was all activity and ardour. Even on learning that his confederate, Mirzapha Jung, had suffered a reverse of fortune, and was a prisoner in the camp of Nazir Jung, he did not slacken either in warfare or negotiation. When, at length, in December 1750, the army which he had set in motion came in sight of Nazir Jung's, the Indian prince viewed its scanty numbers with scorn, calling out that it was only "the mad attempt of "a parcel of drunken Europeans!" But even before the trumpets sounded to battle Nazir Jung found cause to rue the power of Dupleix. A conspiracy had been formed by the French among his own followers; one of them aimed a carabine as Nazir Jung rode up on his elephant, and the Indian prince fell dead on the plain. His head was then severed from his body, and carried on a pole before the tent of Mirzapha Jung, who, freed from his fetters, was by the whole united army — thus sudden are the turns of Oriental politics! — hailed as the Nizam.

The exultation of Dupleix knew no bounds. On the spot where Nazir Jung had fallen he began to build a town, with the pompous title of Dupleix Fatihabad,—"the City of the Victory of "Dupleix,"—and in the midst of that town he laid the foundation of a stately pillar, whose four sides were to bear inscriptions proclaiming in four different languages the triumph of his arms. With the same vain-glorious spirit he resolved to celebrate, at the seat of his own government, the instal-

lation of the new Nizam. On the day of that ceremony he might have passed for an Asiatic potentate, as he entered the town in the same palanquin with his ally, and in the garb of a Mahometan Omrah, with which the Prince himself had clothed him. He accepted, or assumed, the government, under the Mogul, of all the country along the eastern coast between the river Kistna and Cape Comorin; a country little less in extent than France itself. A still higher honour, and still more important privilege, in the opinion of the natives, was the leave he obtained to carry, among his other trappings, the emblem of a fish.* No petition was granted by the Nizam unless signed by the hand of Dupleix; no money was henceforth to be current in the Carnatic except from the mint of Pondicherry. "Send me reinforcements," wrote Bussy to his chief, "and in one year more the Emperor shall tremble at the name of Dupleix!"† But the French Governor soon discovered that his own vanity had been a fatal bar in the way of his ambition. His rivals at Fort St. George and Fort St. David took an alarm at his lofty titles which they might not have felt so soon at his extended power. How superior was their own conduct in prudence! how superior in

* Orme's Hist., vol. i. p. 161. "This distinction," he adds, "was never granted but to persons of the first note in the "empire."—Bishop Heber says that it is considered even a badge of royalty. Journal, October 28. 1824.

† Article DUPLEIX in the Biographie Universelle by Count de Lally Tollendal.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

success! The English in India have continued to call themselves traders long after they had become princes; Dupleix, on the contrary, had assumed the title of Prince while still, in truth, a trader.

It appeared on this occasion, to the heads of the English factory, that, although the contest for the Deccan had been decided by the fall of Nazir Jung, they might still advantageously take part in the contest for the Carnatic. Accordingly they sent several hundred men under Captain Gingen to reinforce their confederate, Mahomed Ali; but these troops were put to flight at Volcondah, and compelled to take shelter with Mahomed Ali in his last stronghold of Trichinopoly. There he was soon besieged and closely pressed by the army of Chunda Sahib and the auxiliaries of Dupleix. If the place should fall it was clear that the French would gain the mastery over all the provinces adjoining Fort St. George and Fort St. David, and would at the first opportunity renew their attack upon those settlements. On the other hand, the English were at this time ill prepared for any further active hostilities; their only officer of experience, Major Lawrence, had gone home, and the garrisons remaining for their own defence were extremely small. There seemed almost equal danger in remaining passive or in boldly advancing. These doubts were solved, these perils overcome, by the energy of one man,—Robert Clive.

The father of Clive was a gentleman of old family, but small estate, residing near Market-

Drayton in Shropshire. There Robert, his eldest son, was born in 1725. From early childhood the boy showed a most daring and turbulent spirit. His uncle thus writes of him, even in his seventh year: "I hope I have made a little further conquest over Bob. . . . . But his fighting, to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper so much fierceness and imperiousness that he flies out upon every trifling occasion; for this reason I do what I can to suppress the hero."*— The people at Drayton long remembered how they saw young Clive climb their lofty steeple, and seated astride a spout near the top,—how, on another occasion, he flung himself into the gutter to form a dam, and assist his playmates in flooding the cellar of a shopkeeper with whom he had quarrelled. At various schools to which he was afterwards sent he appears to have been idle and intractable. Even in after life he was never remarkable for scholarship; and his friendly biographer admits, that, wide as was his influence over the native tribes of India, he was little, if at all, acquainted with their languages.† His father was soon offended at his waywardness and neglect of his studies, and, instead of a profession at home, obtained for him a writership in the East India Company's service, and in the Presidency of Ma-

* Letter, June 9. 1732. Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 32.

† Malcolm's Life, vol. ii. p. 173.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

dras. Some years later, when the old gentleman was informed of his son's successes and distinctions, he used to exclaim, half in anger and half in pride, "After all the booby has sense!"

The feelings of Clive during his first years at Madras are described in his own letters. Thus he writes to his cousin: "I may safely say I have not "enjoyed one happy day since I left my native "country. I am not acquainted with any one "family in the place, and have not assurance "enough to introduce myself without being asked. ". . . . Letters to friends were surely first invented "for the comfort of such solitary wretches as my-"self."* There is no doubt that the climate at Madras was unfavourable to his health, and his duty at the desk ill-suited to his temper. But worse than any other discomfort was his own constitutional and morbid melancholy,—a melancholy which may yet be traced in the expression of his portraits, and which, afterwards heightened as it was by bodily disease and mental irritation, closed the career of this great chief, by the act of his own hand, before he had attained the age of fifty years. —As a writer at Madras he twice one day snapped a pistol at his own head. Finding it miss fire, he calmly waited until his room was entered by an acquaintance, whom he requested to fire the pistol out of the window. The gentleman did so, and

* Letter, February 16. 1745.

the pistol went off. At this proof, that it had been rightly loaded, Clive sprang up, with the exclamation, "Surely then I am reserved for something!" and relinquished his design.

I have already found occasion to relate how Clive was led a prisoner from Fort St. George to Pondicherry, and how he effected his escape from Pondicherry to Fort St. David. At this latter station his daring temper involved him in several disputes. Once he fought a duel with an officer whom he had accused of cheating at cards. They met without seconds; Clive fired, and missed his antagonist, who immediately came close up to him, and held the pistol to his head, desiring him to recant the accusation, and threatening instant death as the alternative. "Fire!" answered Clive, with an oath, "I said you cheated; I say so still, "and I will never pay you!"—Awestruck at so much boldness, the officer flung away his pistol, exclaiming that Clive was mad!*

From this time forward, however, the undaunted spirit of Clive found a nobler scope against the public enemy. During the petty hostilities which ensued,—when the merchants' clerks were almost compelled in self-defence to turn soldiers,—the name of Ensign or Lieutenant Clive is often, and always honourably, mentioned; and during the

* This story is related in the biographical sketch by Henry Beaufoy, Esq., M.P., drawn up from family papers and information, and (like the former) is admitted by Sir John Malcolm.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

intervals of these hostilities he returned to his ledgers and accounts. But on the emergency produced by the successes of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoly, and the departure of Major Lawrence, he accepted a Captain's commission, and bade adieu to trade. With no military education, with so little military experience, this young man of twenty-five shone forth, not only,—as might have been foreseen,—a most courageous, but a most skilful and accomplished commander;—a commander, as Lord Chatham once exclaimed, "whose resolution would charm the King of Prus-"sia, and whose presence of mind has astonished "the Indies!"*—At this crisis he discerned, that, though it was not possible to afford relief to Trichinopoly, a diversion might still be effected by a well-timed surprise of Arcot, thus compelling Chunda Sahib to send a large detachment from his army. The heads of the Presidency, on whom he strenuously urged his views, not only approved the design, but accepted the offer of his own services for its execution. Accordingly, in August 1751, Captain Clive marched from Madras at the head of only 300 Sepoys and 200 Europeans.

* Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 276. In a speech in the House of Commons (March 30. 1772) we find Clive disclaim all knowledge of trade. "My line has been military and "political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been "at the head of an army,—and as to cotton,—I know no more "about it than the Pope of Rome!" (Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 332.)

Scanty as seems this force, it could only be formed by reducing the garrison of Fort St. David to 100 and the garrison of Madras to 50 men; and of the eight officers under Clive, six had never before been in action, and four were merchants' clerks, who, incited by his example, took up the sword to follow him. A few days march brought the little band within ten miles of Arcot, and within sight of the outposts of the garrison. There a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, through which, however, Clive undauntedly pushed forward. Slight as seems this incident, it became attended with important results, for the garrison, apprised by their outposts of the behaviour of the English, were seized with a superstitious panic, as though their opponents were in league with the Heavens, and they fled precipitately, not only from the city, but from the citadel. Thus Clive, without having struck a blow, marched through the streets amidst a concourse of an hundred thousand spectators, and took quiet possession of the citadel or fort. In that stronghold the Arcot merchants had, for security, deposited effects to the value of 50,000*l.*, which Clive punctually restored to the owners; and this politic act of honesty conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest.

Clive, learning that the fugitive garrison had been reinforced, and had taken post in the neighbourhood, made several sallies against them; in the last he surprised them at night, and scattered

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

or put them to the sword. But his principal business was to prepare against the siege which he expected, by collecting provisions and strengthening the works of the fort. As he had foretold, his appearance at Arcot effected a diversion at Trichinopoly. Chunda Sahib immediately detached 4,000 men from his army, who were joined by 2,000 natives from Vellore, by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and by the remains of the fugitive garrison. Altogether, the force thus directed against Arcot exceeded 10,000 men, and was commanded by Rajah Sahib, a son of Chunda Sahib. The fort in which the English were now besieged was, notwithstanding some hasty repairs, in great measure ruinous; with the parapet low and slightly built, with several of the towers decayed, with the ditch in some parts fordable, in others dry, and in some choked up with fallen rubbish. But Clive undauntedly maintained, day after day, such feeble bulwarks against such overwhelming numbers. Nor did he neglect, amidst other more substantial means of defence, to play upon the fears and fancies of his superstitious enemy. Thus he raised on the top of his highest tower an enormous piece of ordnance, which he had found in the fort, and which, according to popular tradition, had been sent from Delhi in the reign of Aurungzebe, dragged along by a thousand yoke of oxen. This cannon was useless for any real practical effect, but being discharged once a day with great form

and ceremony, it struck, as we are told, no small alarm into Rajah Sahib and his principal officers.*

The exertions and the example of Clive had inspired his little band with a spirit scarce inferior to his own. "I have it in my power," writes Sir John Malcolm, "from authority I cannot "doubt, to add an anecdote to the account of "this celebrated siege. When provisions became "so scarce that there was a fear that famine might "compel them to surrender, the Sepoys proposed "to Clive to limit them to the water (or gruel) in "which the rice was boiled. 'It is,' they said, "'sufficient for our support; the Europeans re-"'quire the grain!'—This fact is as honourable "to Clive as to those under his command, for the "conduct of the native troops in India" (Sir John might, perhaps, have said the same of any troops in any country,) "will always be found to depend "upon the character of the officers under whom "they are employed."†

After several weeks siege, however, the besiegers, scanty and ill-served as was their artillery, had succeeded in making more than one practicable breach in the walls. Some succour to the

* Orme's Hist., vol. i. p. 191. See, in the Memoires du Baron de Tott, the consternation produced among the Turks by the discharge of another such enormous and useless piece of artillery at the Dardanelles in 1770 (vol. ii. p. 75. ed. 1785).

† Life of Lord Clive, vol. i. p. 96.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

garrison was attempted from Madras, but in vain. Another resource, however, remained to Clive. He found means to despatch a messenger through the enemy's lines to Morari Row, a Mahratta chieftain, who had received a subsidy to assist Mahomed Ali, and who lay encamped with 6,000 men on the hills of Mysore. Hitherto, notwithstanding his subsidy, he had kept aloof from the contest. But the news how bravely Arcot was defended fixed his wavering mind. "I never "thought till now," said he, "that the English "could fight. Since they can I will help them." And accordingly he sent down a detachment of his troops from the hills.

Rajah Sahib, when he learnt that the Mahrattas were approaching, perceived that he had no time to lose. He sent a flag of truce to the garrison, promising a large sum of money if Clive would surrender, and denouncing instant death if Clive awaited a storm; but he found his offers and his threats received with equal disdain. Exasperated at the scornful answer, he made every preparation for a desperate attack on the morrow. It was the 14th of November, the fiftieth day of the siege, and the anniversary of the festival in commemoration of that martyr of early Islam, Hosein *, when,

* The fate of Hosein is eloquently and pathetically told by Gibbon. (Hist., vol. ix. p. 343—346. ed. 1820.) He adds in a note, the key to the excellence of his description: "The pathetic "almost always consists in the details of little circumstances."

according to the creed of the Mahometans of India, any one who falls in battle against unbelievers is wafted at once into the highest region of Paradise. But, not solely trusting to the enthusiasm of the day, Rajah Sahib had recourse, moreover, to the excitement of BANG, an intoxicating drug, with which he plentifully supplied his soldiers. Before daybreak they came on every side rushing furiously up to the assault. Besides the breaches which they expected to storm, they had hopes to break open the gates by urging forwards several elephants with plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, but the huge animals, galled by the English musketry, as of yore by the Roman javelins*, soon turned, and trampled down the multitudes around them. Opposite one of the breaches where the water of the ditch was deepest another party of the enemy had launched a raft, with seventy men upon it, and began to cross. In this emergency Clive, observing that his gunners fired with bad aim, took himself the management of one of the field-pieces with so much effect that in three or four discharges he had upset the raft and drowned the men. Throughout the day his valour and his skill were equally conspicuous, and every assault of his

* "Elephanti, in quorum tergis infixa stetere pila, ut est "genus anceps, in fugam versi etiam integros avertere . . . . "Eo magis ruere in suos belluae . . . . . Elephanti quo- "que duo in ipsâ portâ conruerant." (Liv. Hist., lib. xxvii. "c. 14.)

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

opponents was repulsed with heavy loss. In the first part of the night their fire was renewed, but at two in the morning it ceased, and at the return of daylight it appeared that they had raised the siege, and were already out of sight, leaving 400 men dead upon the ground, with all their ammunition and artillery.

Elated at this result of his exertions, Clive was not slow in sallying forth, and combining his little garrison with the detachment from Morari Row, and with some reinforcements from Europe which had lately landed at Madras. Thus strengthened, he sought out Rajah Sahib, and gave him battle near the town of Arnee. On this occasion he beheld for the first time in action,—happily for him, ranged on his own side,—the activity and bravery of the Mahrattas. "They fight," says an excellent historian, "in a manner peculiar to themselves; their "cavalry are armed with sabres, and every horse-"man is closely accompanied by a man on foot "armed with a sword and a large club; and some "instead of a club carry a short strong spear; if "a horse be killed, and the rider remains unhurt, "he immediately begins to act on foot; and if the "rider falls, and the horse escapes, he is imme-"diately mounted, and pressed on to the charge by "the first footman who can seize him."* On the other hand, Rajah Sahib, though the greater part of

* Orme's Hist., vol. i. p. 198.

his own troops were dispersed, had been reinforced from Pondicherry with 300 Europeans and nearly 3,000 Sepoys. The issue of the battle, however, was a complete victory to Clive; the enemy's military chest, containing an hundred thousand rupees, fell into the hands of his Mahrattas; and not less than 600 of the French Sepoys, dispirited by their failure, came over with their arms, and consented to serve in the English ranks.

Clive next proceeded against the great PAGODA, or Hindoo temple, of Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison. Their governor, who had lately surprised and taken two wounded English officers, sent Clive warning, that if the pagoda were attacked the prisoners should be exposed on the walls to the first fire of their countrymen. But a private note was added by the brave officers themselves,—their names deserve to be recorded; Lieutenants Revel and Glass,—entreating Clive to take no heed of their safety, and to do his duty at all risks. The barbarous threat was not, however, put in execution, and Clive, entering the place, after three days cannonade, found the French garrison escaped by night, and the English officers unhurt.

Notwithstanding these events, Rajah Sahib was not disheartened. In January 1752, finding that Clive had marched to Fort St. David, he suddenly collected a body of his own troops and of his French auxiliaries, and pushed forwards to Madras.

CHAP. XXXIX.

INDIA.

There was little or no force to withstand him in the open field, and he laid waste, without resistance, the gardens and the country-houses of the British merchants. Clive was recalled in haste from the south; and at the village of Coverpauk he again encountered Rajah Sahib; again with complete success. From the scene of action he marched back in triumph to Fort St. David, passing on his way near the newly raised "City of the Victory" of Dupleix," and the foundation of the pompous Pillar. By a just requital, Clive directed that these monuments of premature exultation should be razed to the ground.

At Trichinopoly the effect of Clive's earliest successes had been to turn the siege into a languid blockade, and with a little more energy on the part of the English garrison it might no doubt have been wholly raised; but all our leaders were not Clives. The indecision and want of enterprise of Captain Gingen excited the murmurs even of his own soldiers, and yet more of his auxiliaries. "Surely," cried one of the Mahrattas, "these are not the same race of men as those we "saw fighting at Arcot!"

Such being the state of affairs, the heads of the English Presidency resolved to send a new expedition to Trichinopoly under Clive's command. At this period, however, Major Lawrence returned from Europe. Many a junior officer, flushed with successes, such as Clive's, might have disdained to serve

under a senior. Many a senior officer, on the other hand, might have been jealous of such a junior. To the credit both of Clive and of Lawrence no such feelings appear to have sprung up between them. Clive continued his strenuous exertions in the public cause; and Lawrence, a good, though not a brilliant soldier, always readily employed and warmly acknowledged the talents of his second in command.

The expedition to Trichinopoly, led by Lawrence and Clive, was crowned with triumphant success. Lawrence adopted the daring proposal of Clive to divide,—at the risk of receiving a separate attack,—the army into two divisions, so as to surround the French. There arose some difficulty from the strict rules of seniority in our service to give, as Lawrence desired, the command of one division to Clive, who was the youngest Captain of his force. But his doubts were speedily solved by his auxiliaries, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, who declared that they would take no part in this enterprise unless it were directed by the defender of Arcot.* In the result the French besiegers of Mahomed Ali were themselves besieged in the island of Seringham in the river Cavery, and were compelled to lay down their arms. Chunda Sahib himself surrendered to a native chief named

* Orme's Hist., vol. i. p. 220. Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 110.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

Monackjee, who took an oath for his safety on his own sabre and poniard,—the most sacred of all oaths to an Indian soldier,—but who, nevertheless, shortly afterwards put his prisoner to death. "The "Mahrattas," says Mr. Orme, "scarcely rate the "life of a man at the value of his turban!"

The severed head of Chunda Sahib,—a man whose benevolence and humanity are acknowledged even by his enemies,—was borne into the city of Trichinopoly, and into the presence of the Nabob, Mahomed Ali, who now for the first time beheld the face of his rival. After exhibiting the gory trophy in triumph to his courtiers, it was by his directions tied to the neck of a camel, and carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by an hundred thousand spectators, and insulted by every form of outrage.—Such were the customs and the feelings from which India has been freed by the British dominion!

It might have been expected that such successes,—and, above all, the murder of one of the competitors,—would finally decide the contest for the government of the Carnatic. But immediately after his victory Mahomed Ali had become involved in dissensions with his allies, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, to whom he had promised, without ever really intending, the cession of Trichinopoly. These bickerings gave fresh life and spirit to Dupleix. Although he found his recent policy disapproved by his employers in Europe,—

although he received from them only reproofs instead of supplies,—although the recruits sent out to him were, according to his own description, no other than "boys, shoe-blacks, and robbers*," —he yet clung to his own schemes with unconquerable perseverance. He laboured to train and discipline his recruits; and, in the want of other funds, he advanced for the public service not less than 140,000*l.* of his own money. He hastened to acknowledge Rajah Sahib as Nabob of Arcot; and on the incapacity of that competitor becoming apparent, still not discouraged, he proclaimed another chieftain in his place. Nor did he intermit the most active negotiations with the Nizam. This was no longer Mirzapha Jung, who had survived his elevation only a few months, but his successor, Salabat Jung, who had been elected mainly by the French influence, and generally leaned to the French interest. At the Court of this prince Dupleix had for some time past stationed his best officer, Bussy, whose abilities had gained him great weight, and enabled the Nizam to prevail over his numerous opponents. "Had I "only a second Bussy," writes Dupleix, "I should "long ago have put an end to the war in the Car- "natic."† It was with other and far inferior

* "Enfans, decrotteurs, et bandits!" Lettre à M. de Machault, le 16 Octobre 1753. The English recruits in India were little better.

† Lettre à M. de Machault, le 16 Octobre 1753.

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

officers that Dupleix now resumed hostilities,—again attempted Arcot, and again besieged Trichinopoly. Notwithstanding all his exertions, the warfare proved weak and languid, and was far from enabling the French to recover their lost ground.

Clive had for some time continued to distinguish himself in the desultory operations which followed the surrender of Seringham. He had reduced in succession the two important forts of Covelong and Chingleput. But his health was beginning to fail beneath the burning sun of India; his return to England had become essential to his recovery, and he embarked at Madras early in the year 1753, immediately after his marriage to Miss Margaret Maskelyne. He found himself received at home with well-earned approbation and rewards. The Court of Directors at one of their public dinners drank the health of the young Captain by the name of "General Clive*," and, not satisfied with this convivial compliment, voted him the gift of a sword set with diamonds. It is greatly to the honour of Clive that he refused to accept this token of esteem, unless the same were bestowed on his old and worthy commander, Major Lawrence, which was done accordingly.

Far different were the feelings which the Directors of the French East India Company enter-

* Letter to Clive from his father, December 15. 1752.

tained towards Dupleix. They looked with slight interest on the struggles for the Carnatic, and thought the failure of their Dividends an unanswerable argument against the policy of their Governor. A negotiation for the adjustment of all differences was carried on for some time in London between them and their English rivals. At length they determined to send over M. Godeheu, as their Commissioner, to India, with full powers to conclude a peace, and to supersede Dupleix. Godeheu landed at Pondicherry in August 1754, and hastened to sign with the chiefs of the English Presidency a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or annulled in Europe, according to which the French party yielded nearly all the points at issue, and virtually acknowledged Mahomed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic.

Dupleix, who looked on this pacification with unavailing grief and anger, had, even before its final conclusion, embarked for France. There he found neither reward for the services he had rendered nor even repayment for the sums he had advanced.—Where was now that proud and wily Satrap, so lately bedecked with pompous titles, and glittering with the gold of Trichinopoly or the diamonds of Golconda?—Had any curious travellers at the time sought an answer to that question they might have found the fallen statesman reduced,—as he tells us himself,—to the most deplorable indigence,—compiling in some

CHAP. XXXIX. INDIA.

garret another fruitless Memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some Under-Secretary's antechamber. For several years he pursued most unavailingly his claims and his complaints, until in 1763 he expired, sick at heart and broken in fortunes, like his rival and his victim, La Bourdonnais.

CHAPTER XL.

INDIA.

WITHIN two years the health of Clive grew strong in his native air, and his spirit began to pine for active service. On the other hand, experience of his merits, and apprehension of a war with France, rendered both the King's Ministers and the East India Company eager to employ him. From the former he received the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army, from the latter the office of Governor of Fort St. David. Landing at Bombay with some troops in November 1755, he found there Admiral Watson and a British squadron. There was little at that time on the coast of Coromandel to demand the exertions of these two commanders, and they thought the opportunity tempting to reduce in conjunction a formidable nest of pirates, about two degrees south of Bombay. These pirates had for above half a century formed a predatory state like Tunis or Algiers, holding 120 miles of coast, and commanded by chiefs who always bore the name of Angria. Although their vessels were but small and slightly armed, the richest merchants in those seas had either to purchase their passes or to fear

CHAP. XL.

INDIA.

their depredations. One of their fortresses, Severndroog, had been taken by Commodore James several months before; it was against the other, Gheriah, that Clive and Watson now proceeded. The place was of great strength, built on a rocky headland almost surrounded by the sea; but the pirates were struck with terror, and surrendered with little resistance. Their spoils, valued at 120,000*l.*, were shared as prize-money between the naval and military captors.

Having performed this service in February 1756, Clive pursued his voyage to Fort St. David, and took the charge of his government on the 20th of June,—the very day, by a remarkable coincidence, when the Nabob of Bengal was storming Fort William.—In fact a crisis had now occurred on the shores of the Hooghly, threatening the utmost danger, and calling for the utmost exertion.

The Viceroys of Bengal, like the Viceroys of the Deccan, retained only a nominal dependence on the Mogul Empire. From their capital, Moorshedabad,—"a city," says Clive, "as extensive, populous, and rich as the City of London,"—they sent forth absolute and uncontrolled decrees over the wide provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar, ill disguised by the mockery of homage to that empty phantom "the King of Kings" at Delhi.*

* Even at a later period, and a much lower pitch of degradation, the Mogul Court still retained the most pompous forms and titles. See in Bishop Heber's Journal (December 31. 1824) the account of his own presentation at Delhi.

The old Nabob, Aliverdi Khan, had died in April 1756, and been succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a youth only nineteen years of age. Surajah Dowlah combined in no common degree a ferocious temper with a feeble understanding. The torture of birds and beasts had been the pastime of his childhood, and the sufferings of his fellow-creatures became the sport of his riper years. His favourite companions were buffoons and flatterers, with whom he indulged in every kind of debauchery, amongst others, the immoderate use of ardent spirits. Towards the Europeans, and the English especially, he looked with ignorant aversion, and still more ignorant contempt. He was often heard to say that he did not believe there were 10,000 men in all Europe.*

Differences were not slow to arise between such a prince as Surajah Dowlah and his neighbours, the British in Bengal. One of his revenue officers had escaped from his custody with a large treasure, as was suspected, and had found a safe refuge at Calcutta. Moreover, the Presidency of that place had begun to improve their fortifications, from the prospect of another war with France. This greatly displeased the Nabob, and he was only the more incensed at the explanation, which implied that these audacious strangers might presume to bring their hostilities into his dominions. Without further parley he seized the British factory at Cossim-

* Orme's Hist., vol. ii. p. 120.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

Bazar, the port of Moorshedabad upon the river, and he retained the chiefs of that settlement as his prisoners. The Presidency of Fort William were now thoroughly alarmed, and hastened to make the most abject apologies, offering to accept any terms which Surajah Dowlah might be pleased to dictate. But Surajah Dowlah had heard much of the wealth at Calcutta; that wealth he was determined to secure; and he soon appeared before the gates at the head of a numerous army.

The defences of Calcutta, notwithstanding the wrath which they had stirred in the Nabob, were at this time slight and inconsiderable. For a garrison there were less than 200 Europeans, and scarcely more than 1,000 natives, hastily trained as militia, and armed with matchlocks. No example of spirit was set them by their chiefs. On the contrary, the Governor, Mr. Drake, and the commanding officer, Captain Minchin, being struck with a disgraceful panic, embarked in a boat, and escaped down the Hooghly. Under these circumstances, a civilian, Mr. Holwell, though not the senior servant of the Company, was by the general voice called to the direction of affairs. At this time the Nabob's artillery was already thundering at the walls, yet under every disadvantage Mr. Holwell protracted for two days longer the defence of the fort. When, at length, on the evening of the 20th of June, all resistance had ceased, the Nabob seated himself in the great hall of the factory, and received the congratulations of

his courtiers on his prowess. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend their fort, and much dissatisfaction at his having found so small a sum,—only 50,000 rupees,—in their treasury. On the whole, however, he seemed more gracious than his character gave reason to expect, and he promised, "on "the word of a soldier," as he said, that the lives of his prisoners should be spared.

Thus dismissed by the tyrant, and led back to the other captives, Mr. Holwell cheered them with the promise of their safety. We are told how, relieved from their terrors, and unconscious of their doom, they laughed and jested amongst themselves. But their joy and their jesting were of short duration. They had been left at the disposal of the officers of the guard, who determined to secure them for the night in the common dungeon of the fort,—a dungeon known to the English by the name of "the Black Hole,"—its size only eighteen feet by fourteen; its airholes only two small windows, and these overhung by a low veranda. Into this cell,—hitherto designed and employed for the confinement of some half dozen malefactors at a time,—was it now resolved to thrust an hundred and forty-five European men and one Englishwoman, some of them suffering from recent wounds, and this in the night of the Indian summer-solstice, when the fiercest heat was raging! Into this cell accordingly the unhappy prisoners, in spite of their

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

expostulations, were driven at the point of the sabre, the last, from the throng and narrow space, being pressed in with considerable difficulty, and the doors being then by main force closed and locked behind them.

Of the doleful night that succeeded narratives have been given by two of the survivors, Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke.—The former, who even in this extremity was still in some degree obeyed as chief, placed himself at a window, called for silence, and appealed to one of the Nabob's officers, an old man, who had shown more humanity than the rest, promising him a thousand rupees in the morning if he would find means to separate the prisoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returned in a few minutes with the fatal sentence that no change could be made without orders from the Nabob,—that the Nabob was asleep,—and that no one dared to disturb him.

Meanwhile within the dungeon the heat and stench had become intolerable. It was clear to the sufferers themselves that, without a change, few, if any, amongst them would see the light of another day. Some attempted to burst open the door; others, as unavailingly, again besought the soldiers to unclose it. As their dire thirst increased, amidst their struggles and their screams, "Water! Water!" became the general cry. The officer, to whose compassion Mr. Holwell had lately appealed, desired some skins of water to be brought to the window; but they proved too large

to pass through the iron bars, and the sight of this relief, so near and yet withheld, served only to infuriate and well-nigh madden the miserable captives; they began to fight and trample one another down, striving for a nearer place to the windows, and for a few drops of the water. These dreadful conflicts, far from exciting the pity of the guards, rather moved their mirth; and they held up lights to the bars, with fiendish glee, to discern the amusing sight more clearly. On the other hand, several of the English, frantic with pain, were now endeavouring by every term of insult and invective to provoke these soldiers to put an end to their agony by firing into the dungeon. "Some of "our company," says Mr. Cooke, "expired very "soon after being put in; others grew mad, and, "having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." At length, and by degrees, these various outcries sunk into silence,—but it was the silence of death. When the morning broke, and the Nabob's order came to unlock the door, it became necessary first to clear a lane, by drawing out the corpses, and piling them in heaps on each side, when,—walking one by one through the narrow outlet,—of the 146 persons who had entered the cell the evening before, only twenty-three came forth; the ghastliest forms, says Mr. Orme, that were ever seen alive!

It does not appear that Surajah Dowlah had in any degree directed or intended the horrors of that night. But he made himself what might be termed in legal phrase an accessary after the fact.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

He expressed neither sympathy with those who had suffered nor resentment at those who had wrought the inhuman outrage. When in the morning Mr. Holwell was by his orders again brought before him,—unable to stand, and propped up between two guards,—the Nabob talked only of the great treasure which he was sure the English had buried, and threatened further injuries, unless it were revealed. But after sufferings like those of Mr. Holwell threats can no longer cause dismay. In Mr. Holwell's own words: "Such intimations "gave me no manner of concern, for at that junc- "ture I should have esteemed death the greatest "favour the tyrant could have bestowed upon me." —In his treatment of the dead, as of the living, the brutal temper of the tyrant was shown. The corpses drawn from the Black Hole were rudely and promiscuously cast into a large trench dug without the castle-wall. An Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, and who, strange to add, had been found among the few survivors, was consigned to the Haram of the Nabob's general, Meer Jaffier. The English of inferior rank were suffered to escape, but their property was plundered, and Mr. Holwell, with two other chief men, were sent as prisoners to Moorshedabad; there loaded with irons, lodged in a cow-house, and allowed only rice and water for their food, until, some time afterwards, their release was granted to the humane intercession of a native lady, the widow of Aliverdi Khan.

At Calcutta meanwhile Surajah Dowlah was lending a ready ear to the praises of his courtiers, who assured him that his reduction of the British settlement was the most heroic and glorious achievement performed in India since the days of Tamerlane. In memory of the Divine blessing (for so he deemed it) on his arms, he ordered that Calcutta should thenceforward bear the name of ALINAGORE,—"the Port of God." Another edict declared that no Englishman should ever again presume to set foot within the territory. Then, leaving a garrison of 3,000 men in Calcutta, and levying large sums, by way of contribution, from the Dutch at Chinsura and the French at Chandernagore, Surajah Dowlah returned in triumph to his capital.

It was not till the 16th of August that tidings of the events of Calcutta reached Madras. Measures were then in progress for sending a detachment into the Deccan, to counteract the influence of Bussy. But all other considerations were overborne by the cry for vengeance against Surajah Dowlah, and the necessity of an expedition to Bengal. It happened fortunately that Admiral Watson and his squadron had returned from the western coast, and were now at anchor in the roads. It happened also, from the projected march to the Deccan, that the land-forces were at this period combined, and ready for action. Difficulties, however, immediately arose as to the chief command. Colonel Adlercron and Colonel (lately

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

Major) Lawrence might urge the claims of seniority, but the former had no experience of Indian warfare, and the health of the latter was declining. Under these circumstances Mr. Orme, the historian, who was then a member of the Council at Madras, had the honour of suggesting the name of Clive; and Colonel Lawrence, no less to his credit, warmly supported the proposal. Adopting these views, the Presidency summoned Clive from Fort St. David, and appointed him chief of the intended expedition. Colonel Adlercron, much incensed, declared, in his zeal for the public service, that unless the command were vested in himself he would not allow the Royal Artillery or the King's guns and stores to proceed; and, though they were already on board, they were again disembarked by his orders. The young hero of Arcot, however, could still reckon on some of the best troops in the King's service,—great part of the Thirty-ninth Foot.—That gallant regiment,—so conspicuous for many other services,—which for its brave deeds at Gibraltar bears on its colours the Castle and the Key,—MONTIS INSIGNIA CALPE,—has no less nobly earned the lofty title, as founder of our Eastern empire: PRIMUS IN INDIS! *

* This regiment also distinguished itself in the campaigns of the Peninsula and South of France. At Hellette, writes the Duke of Wellington, "two attacks of the enemy were most gallantly received and repulsed by the 39th." (To Earl Bathurst, February 20. 1814.) Even while these pages are passing through the press, this regiment has gained new and brilliant laurels on the field of Maharaj-poor. Lord Ellenborough speaks of it as

On the whole, the force entrusted to Clive amounted to 900 Europeans, and 1,500 Sepoys. The powers granted him were to be in all military matters independent of the Members of the Council of Calcutta; but his instructions were positive and peremptory, to return at all events and under any circumstances by the month of April next, about which time a French expedition was expected on the coast of Coromandel.

The armament of Clive and Watson, having been delayed two months by quarrels at Madras, and two more by contrary winds at sea, did not enter the Hooghly until the middle of December. At the village of Fulta, near the mouth of the river, they found the fugitives from the British settlement, including the principal Members of the Council, who formed a Select Committee of direction. Having combined measures with them, Clive and Watson pushed forward against Calcutta. The scanty garrison left by Surajah Dowlah ventured to sally forth, under its commander, Monichund, but was easily routed with the loss of 150 men, Monichund himself receiving a shot through his turban. Calcutta, after one or two

follows, in his General Orders of January 4. 1844. "Her "Majesty's 39th Regiment had the peculiar fortune of adding "to the honour of having won at Plassey the first great battle "which laid the foundation of the British empire in India, the "further honour of thus nobly contributing to this, as it may "be hoped, the last and crowning victory by which that empire "has been secured."

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

random discharges from the wall, was quietly abandoned to the English, who thus on the 2d of January 1757 again became masters of the place. Nay, more, after this first success, Clive and Watson advanced against the town of Hooghly, which they stormed and sacked with little loss. This was the first opportunity of distinction to Captain Coote, afterwards Sir Eyre.

At these tidings, Surajah Dowlah, much irritated, but also in some degree alarmed, marched back from Moorshedabad at the head of 40,000 men. By this time intelligence had reached India of the Declaration of War between France and England, and the Nabob proposed to the French at Chandernagore that they should join him with their whole force, amounting to several hundred Europeans. But the memory of their reverses on the coast of Coromandel was still present in their minds, and they not only rejected the Nabob's overture, but made an overture of their own to the English for a treaty of neutrality. Formerly, they said, war had been waged in India between France and England while the two countries were in peace at home. Why not now reverse the rule, and maintain quiet in Bengal, though hostilities might prevail elsewhere? As, however, the French at Chandernagore did not, like the English at Calcutta, form a separate Presidency, but were dependent on the government of Pondicherry, they had not in truth the powers to conclude the treaty they proposed,

and for this and other reasons it was finally rejected by the British chiefs.*

During this time Surajah Dowlah had advanced close upon Fort William, at the head of his large but ill-disciplined and irregular army. Clive, considering the disparity of numbers, resolved to surprise the enemy in a night attack. According to his own account, "about three o'clock in the "morning I marched out with nearly my whole "force; about six we entered the enemy's camp "in a thick fog, and crossed it in about two "hours, with considerable execution. Had the fog "cleared up, as it usually does about eight o'clock, "when we were entire masters of the camp without "the ditch, the action must have been decisive; "instead of which it thickened, and occasioned our "mistaking the way."† It may be added from other reports, that the loss of the English in the action which ensued was no less than 100 Sepoys and 120 Europeans,—a great proportion of their little army. Yet if the object of Clive had been mainly to show the superiority of the Europeans in warfare, and to strike terror into the mind of the Nabob, that object was fully attained. Surajah Dowlah passed from an ignorant contempt of the English to a kind of timid awe; and though

* There is some contradiction between the several statements of this overture, but they are judiciously reconciled in a note to Mr. Thornton's History of India, vol. i. p. 214.

† Letter to the Secret Committee, February 22. 1757.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

the latter feeling in his mind proved as evanescent as the former, it strongly inclined him at the time to peace on terms most favourable to his opponents. He agreed to grant them the confirmation of their previous privileges,—the right to fortify Calcutta in any manner they pleased,—the exemption of all merchandise under their passes from fees and tolls, —and the restoration of or compensation for all such of their plundered effects as had been carried to the Nabob's account. Three days after a peace had been signed on these conditions the new-born friendship of the Nabob for the English, joined to some fear of a northward invasion from the Affghans, led him so far as to propose another article, for an intimate alliance, offensive and defensive. It seemed ignominious, and a stain on our national honour, to conclude such a treaty, or indeed any treaty, with the author of the atrocities of the Black Hole, while those atrocities remained without the slightest satisfaction, requital, or apology. But, as Clive had previously complained, the gentlemen at Calcutta were then callous to every feeling but that of their own losses. "Believe me," says Clive, "they are bad subjects, and rotten at "heart. . . . . The riches of Peru and Mexico "should not induce me to live among them."*— Nevertheless it must be observed, that, whatever may have been Clive's feelings on this occasion, he showed himself to the full as eager and forward

* Letter to the Governor of Madras, January 8. 1757.

as any of the merchants in pressing the conclusion of the treaty of alliance. Among the chiefs none but Admiral Watson opposed it, and it was signed and ratified on the 12th of February, the same day that it was offered.

This new and strange alliance seemed to the English at Calcutta to afford them a most favourable opportunity for assailing their rivals at Chandernagore. Clive wrote to the Nabob applying for permission, and received an evasive answer, which he thought fit to construe as assent. Operations were immediately commenced; Clive directing them by land, and Watson by water. To the latter especially high praise is due. "Even at the "present day," says Sir John Malcolm, "when "the navigation of the river is so much better "known, the success with which the largest "vessels of this fleet were navigated to Chan-"dernagore, and laid alongside the batteries of "that settlement, is a subject of wonder."* The French made a gallant resistance, but were soon overpowered, and compelled to surrender the settlement, on which occasion above 400 European soldiers became prisoners of war.

The Nabob, who by this time had gone back to his capital, was most highly exasperated on learning the attack upon Chandernagore, which he had never really intended to allow. It produced another complete revolution in his sentiments. His former hatred against the English returned,

* Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 192.

CHAP XL. INDIA.

but not his former contempt. On the contrary, he now felt the necessity of strengthening himself by foreign alliances against them, and with that view he entered into correspondence with M. de Bussy in the Deccan. His letters pressed that officer to march to his assistance against the Englishman, SABUT JUNG, "The daring in war,"—a well-earned title, by which Clive is to this day known among the natives of India. "These "disturbers of my country," writes his Highness, "the Admiral and Sabut Jung,—whom may ill "fortune attend!—without any reason whatever "are warring against the governor of Chander-"nagore. I, who in all things seek the good of "mankind, assist him in every respect. . . . . I hope "in God these English will be punished. . . . .Be con-"fident; look on my forces as your own."—Copies of these letters fell into the hands of the English, and left in them no doubt as to the hostile designs of the Nabob. In the same spirit, Surajah Dowlah conferred secretly and more than once with M. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossim-Bazar. This Law, a nephew of the Mississippi projector, had under his command a force, partly his own and partly of fugitives from Chandernagore, amounting to nearly 200 Europeans and Sepoys. It was now demanded by the English, in conformity with the treaty of alliance, that Surajah Dowlah should dismiss this small force from his dominions. On the other hand, Law warned the Nabob of the plots and conspiracies

already rife at his own Court, and urged him to declare boldly and at once against the English. The Nabob, as usual with weak minds, adopted a middle course. He pretended to banish Law from the province as far as Patna, but continued to supply him secretly with money, and said, on his taking leave, that if there should happen any thing new, he would send for him again.—"Send for me "again!" replied the resolute Frenchman. "Be "assured, my Lord Nabob, that this is the last "time we shall ever see each other; remember my "words; we shall never meet again!"

At this time the English Resident at the Court of Moorshedabad was Mr. Watts, lately chief of the factory at Cossim-Bazar, and selected for his new office at the Nabob's own request. From the information he supplied, Clive reports as follows: "One day the Nabob tears my letters, and turns "out our VAKEEL (envoy), and orders his army to "march; the next countermands it; sends for the "Vakeel, and begs his pardon for what he has "done. Twice a week he threatens to impale "Mr. Watts! In short he is a compound of every "thing that is bad. . . . . It is a most disagreeable "circumstance to find that the troubles are likely "to commence again, but the opinion here (at "Calcutta) is universal, that there can be neither "peace nor trade without a change of govern-"ment." *

* Letter to the Governor of Madras, April 30. 1757.

CHAP. XI. INDIA.

With this conviction strongly rooted in his mind, and the danger to Bengal full before his eyes, the bold spirit of Clive determined to set aside of his own authority the instructions commanding his immediate return to Madras. He entered eagerly into the conspiracy forming at Moorshedabad to depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place on the throne the general of the forces, Meer Jaffier. It may readily be supposed that in these negotiations Meer Jaffier was liberal, nay lavish, in his promises of compensation to the Company, and rewards to their soldiers. Still more essential was the engagement into which he entered, that, on the approach of an English force, he would join their standard with a large body of his troops. It was the energy of Clive which formed the soul of the whole design —which upheld the faltering courage of the conspirators at Moorshedabad, and fixed the doubtful judgment of the Committee (or Council) at Calcutta. Thus he writes to Mr. Watts: "Tell Meer "Jaffier to fear nothing, and that I will join him "with 5,000 men who never turned their backs."* Yet it seems difficult to believe that Clive could really expect, at that juncture, to muster much more than half the numbers that he named.

In these negotiations between the native conspirators and the English chiefs, the principal agent next to Mr. Watts was a wealthy Hindoo merchant of the name of Omichund. A long previous resi-

* Letter to Mr. Watts, May 2. 1757.

dence at Calcutta had made him well acquainted with English forms and manners, while it had lost him none of the craft and subtlety that seem almost the birthright of a Bengalee. As the time for action drew near, he began to feel,—not scruples at the treachery,—not even apprehensions as to the success,—but doubts whether his own interests had been sufficiently secured. He went to Mr. Watts, and threatened to disclose the whole conspiracy to Surajah Dowlah unless it were stipulated that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, or 300,000*l.*, as a reward for his services,—which stipulation he insisted on seeing added as an article in the treaty pending between Meer Jaffier and the English. Mr. Watts, in great alarm for his own life, soothed Omichund with general assurances, while he referred the question as speedily as possible to the Members of the Select Committee at Calcutta. There was little disposition on the part of these gentlemen to concede the grasping demands of the Hindoo. Meer Jaffier, it is true, had promised a donative of forty or fifty lacs in case of his success; but these the Committee designed partly for the army and navy, and partly for themselves. Though often at variance with each other, they were never found to disagree when their own profit was at stake. Thus, one of the Members, Mr. Becher, having moved, "That as they, the Com-
"mittee, had set the machine in motion, it was
"reasonable and proper that they should be con-
"sidered,"—or, in other words, share in the spoils,

CHAP. XL.

INDIA.

the Resolution was carried with enthusiastic unanimity.*

Under these circumstances the Committee were equally unwilling to grant and afraid to refuse the exorbitant claim of Omichund. But an expedient was suggested by Clive. Two treaties were drawn up; the one on white paper, intended to be real and valid, and containing no reference to Omichund, the other on red paper, with a stipulation in his favour, but designed as fictitious, and merely with the object to deceive him. The Members of the Committee, like Clive, put their names without hesitation to both treaties; but Admiral Watson, with higher spirit, would only sign the real one. It was foreseen that the omission of such a name would rouse the suspicion of Omichund, and in this emergency Clive directed another person to counterfeit the Admiral's signature.

For his share in these transactions Clive was many years afterwards taunted to his face in the House of Commons. Unable to deny he endeavoured to defend his conduct. "It was," he said, "a matter of true policy and of justice to de-"ceive so great a villain as Omichund."† The villainy of Omichund, however, appears mainly this,—that for the treachery which the English encouraged and abetted he claimed a larger reward than the English were willing to pay. But even

* Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 253.

† Speech, May 19. 1773. Parl. Hist., vol. xvii. p. 876.

admitting to the fullest extent the guilt of the Hindoo intriguer, this does not suffice to vindicate the British chief; this does not prove that it was justifiable, as he alleges, to deceive the deceiver, and to foil an Asiatic by his own Asiatic arts. Such expedients as fictitious treaties and counterfeited signatures are not, as I conceive, to be cleared by any refinements of ingenuity, or any considerations of state advantage*, and they must for ever remain a blot on the brilliant laurels of Clive.

Omichund having thus been successfully imposed upon, and the conspiracy being now sufficiently matured, Mr. Watts made his escape from Moorshedabad, and Clive set his army in motion from Calcutta. He had under his command 3,000 men, all excellent troops, and one third Europeans.

* See the elaborate defence of Sir John Malcolm in the sixth chapter of his Life of Clive. He argues, that Admiral Watson knew and permitted the signature of his name by another hand. But in the first place, and *primâ facie*, it appears utterly incredible that any man refusing on conscientious grounds his signature to a delusive treaty would give his consent to the counterfeiting of that signature. Secondly, I observe, that no such apology is ventured upon by the contemporary historian, Mr. Orme, notwithstanding his personal friendship for Clive (Hist. vol. ii. p. 155.) Thirdly, I find that the expressions ascribed to Watson by Mr. Cooke, the Secretary to Government, are merely as follows: "The Admiral "said he had not signed it, but left them to do as they pleased," —expressions which, I think, can imply no more than that the other parties might proceed or not, as they could or would, in their own course of policy, without him. Watson died of jungle-fever only a few weeks after these events.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

The terror of Surajah Dowlah was increased by a haughty letter from Clive, alleging the Nabob's infraction of the recent alliance, and his new designs against the English. Much perturbed, the Nabob, however, proceeded to assemble near the village of Plassey, his whole force amounting to 15,000 cavalry and 35,000 foot. Nor was it merely in numbers of men that he surpassed the English; while Clive brought only eight field pieces and two howitzers, Surajah Dowlah had above forty pieces of cannon of the largest size, each drawn by forty or fifty yoke of white oxen, and each with an elephant behind, trained to assist in pushing it over difficult ground. Forty Frenchmen in the Nabob's pay directed some smaller guns. The greater part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various weapons,—pikes, swords, arrows, and even rockets. The cavalry, both men and horses, were drawn from the northern districts of India, and, to the eye at least, appeared more formidable than those encountered by Clive in the wars of the Carnatic. But in truth these numbers were an army only in name and outward show; not cheered by military spirit, nor jealous of military reputation; with no confidence in themselves, and no attachment to their leader.

The Nabob, distrustful of Meer Jaffier, had before he left the capital exacted from him an oath of fidelity upon the Koran. Either a respect for this oath, or, what is far more probable, a doubt

as to the issue of the war, seemed to weigh with Meer Jaffier; he did not perform his engagement to the English, of joining them with his division at the appointed place of meeting, but kept aloof, sending them only evasive answers or general assurances. When, therefore, the English army came within one march of the Nabob's at Plassey,—with the wide stream of the Hooghly flowing between them,—can we wonder if doubts assailed even the resolute spirit of Clive, how far, relying on the slippery faith of the Hindoo conspirator, or on his own brave but scanty force, he might venture to pass the river, and bring the enemy to battle? He well knew, as he said himself, that "if a defeat ensued not one man would have "returned to tell it." Under these circumstances he assembled a Council of War. Sixteen years afterwards he observed that this was the only Council of War which he had ever held, and that if he had abided by its decision it would have been the ruin of the East India Company. But these words, if taken alone, would not convey an accurate impression of what passed. Having called together his officers, to the number of twenty, he proposed to them the question, whether it would be prudent, without assistance, to attack the Nabob, or whether they should wait until joined by some native force. Contrary to the usual form in Councils of War, of beginning with the youngest Member, Clive gave his own opinion first, and that opinion was, not to venture. Twelve officers

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

concurred with their chief; seven others, among whom was Major Eyre Coote, voted for immediate action. Thus a large majority approved the judgment of Clive; but his own doubts returned more forcibly than ever, and he began to feel that not only honour but safety pointed forwards. It was said at the time that his purpose had been changed by one hour of tranquil meditation under the shade of some trees; but Clive himself declared in his Evidence in England, that after the Council he had taken "about twenty-four hours mature consideration." Be this as it may, he came forth fully resolved to put every thing to the hazard. The troops were led across the river; they accomplished in eight hours a toilsome march of fifteen miles, and at one o'clock in the morning of the memorable 23d of June, 1757, they reached the mangoe-grove of Plassey. The mingling sounds of drums, clarions, and cymbals,—the usual tokens of a night-watch in an Indian army,—convinced them that they were now within a mile of the Nabob's camp. For the remainder of that night Clive took up his quarters in a small hunting-house belonging to the Nabob, but could not sleep; while his soldiers, less concerned than their General, stretched themselves to rest beneath the adjoining trees.*

At sunrise Clive ascended the roof of the hunting-house, and surveyed with a steadfast eye the

* The proceedings of the Council of War, and the march of Clive, are, in some points of less importance, differently told by different writers. These points are clearly drawn out and

rich array and the spreading numbers of his enemy. He saw them advance from several sides, as if to enclose him, but they halted at some distance, and began a cannonade, which was returned by the English, and which continued during several hours. It was found that the cumbrous ordnance of the Indians did far less execution than the light field-pieces of Clive. So careless, besides, were the former troops in carrying or handling ammunition, that several explosions were observed in their own ranks, and that about noon a passing shower damaged a great part of their powder, and compelled them to slacken their fire. At nearly the same time one of their most trusted leaders fell, and one of their divisions consequently showed some symptoms of disorder. This news came to the Nabob, who had remained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, surrounded by officers, one half of whom were parties to the conspiracy against him. He now received the perfidious or timid counsel,—to which his own fears readily responded,—of commanding a retreat towards his capital; the order was issued, and the army began to fall back. At such favourable indications, a charge upon the enemy was begun, without orders, by

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well discussed by Mr. Thornton in two notes. (Hist. of India, vol. i. p. 235 and 237.) Sir John Malcolm adopts two conflicting statements without explanation or remark. (Life of Clive, vol. i. p. 161 and 164.)

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

two companies under Major Kilpatrick*, and soon afterwards was renewed by Clive, at the head of his whole line. They met with faint resistance, except from the gallant little band of Frenchmen; drove the enemy from the advanced position; and became possessed of some rising ground near an angle of the Indian camp. Meer Jaffier, on his part, seeing to which side the fortune of the day was tending, drew off his body of troops. Before five o'clock the victory of Clive was not only certain but complete. It had cost him no more than twenty-two soldiers slain and fifty wounded, while the loss of the vanquished also did not exceed 500 men; but they were pursued for six miles, scattering in every direction, and leaving behind all their artillery and baggage.

The field of Plassey,—on which with such slender loss the fate, not only of Bengal, but of India, was in truth decided,—continued for many years an object of interest and curiosity to the passing stranger. It was visited, amongst many other British officers, by the Duke of Wellington; but more recently it has become difficult, nay, almost impossible, to trace the scene of this great achievement. The river has here entirely changed

* "Colonel Clive chanced at this time to be lying down in "the hunting-house. Some say he was asleep, which is not "improbable, considering how little rest he had had for so "many hours before; but this is no imputation either against "his courage or conduct." (Orme's Hist. vol. ii. p. 176.)

its course, and encroached upon the plain; the Nabob's hunting-house, once the abode of Clive, has crumbled away, and even the celebrated mangoe-grove is no longer to be found.*

Of this battle it may be said, that it was gained against a disparity of force nearly such as the Spaniards encountered in Mexico and Peru. But there is a difference highly honourable to the English. The natives of Mexico and Peru were wholly ignorant of gunpowder, and viewed the Spaniards with their fire-arms as demigods, wielding the lightning and thunder of the Heavens. The natives of India, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the natives of Europe; they looked on them with no superstitious awe; and, however unskilful in the use of artillery, they were at least not surprised at its effects.—From the day of Plassey dates our supremacy above them. From that day they began to feel that none of the things on which they had heretofore relied,—not their tenfold or twentyfold numbers,—their blaze of rockets,—the long array of their elephants,—the massy weight of their ordnance,—their subterfuges and their wiles,—would enable them to stand firm against the energy and discipline of the island-strangers. They began to feel that even their own strength would become an instrument to their subjugation;—that even their own countrymen, when, under the name of Sepoys, trained in Euro-

* Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, article PLASSEY, ed. 1828.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

pean discipline, and animated by European spirit, had been at Plassey, and would be again, the mainstay and right arm of the British power. From that day the British flag in Hindostan has never (and the Hindoos know it) been unfurled in vain; its very sight has more than once awed, without a blow, aggressors to submission, and ever inspired with undoubting confidence those who are ranged beneath it, and can claim it for their own. That feeling, now prevalent through the East, has in our day been forcibly described by one of our naval officers, when beset with his boat's crew in a great city of China.—"I found," he writes, in words whose truth and earnestness are nearly akin, and perhaps superior, to eloquence, "that the topmast "of the flag-staff had been struck since the execu- "tion; but I immediately desired that the boat's "ensign should be taken up, and made fast to the "lower mast-head, for I well knew, my Lord, that "there is a sense of support in the sight of that "honoured flag, fly where it will, that none can "feel but men who look upon it in some such "dismal strait as our's!"*

On the morning after the battle Meer Jaffier appeared at the English camp, far from confident of a good reception since his recent conduct. As he alighted from his elephant the guard drew out, and rested their arms to do him honour; but Meer Jaffier, not knowing the

* Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, March 30. 1839. Parliamentary Papers,—CHINA.

drift of this compliment, started back in great alarm. Clive, however, speedily came forward, embraced his trembling friend, and hailed him Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. It was agreed between them that Meer Jaffier should immediately push forward with his division to Moorshedabad, and that Clive and his English should follow more at leisure. But they neither expected nor found the slightest further resistance.

Even before the day of Plassey was decided Surajah Dowlah had mounted a camel, and ignominiously fled from the field. He scarcely rested until he reached Moorshedabad. There he heard his councillors advise,—some, surrender to the English,—others, perseverance in the war,—others, again, a prolongation of his flight. To his own cowardly temper this last advice was by far the most congenial. In the evening he assumed a mean dress for a disguise, let himself down from a by-window of his palace, and embarked in a small boat, with the most precious of his jewels, and the favourite of his women. His design was to ascend the Ganges as far as Patna, and throw himself upon the protection of Law's detachment. Already had he reached the point where the blue hills of Rajmahal,—the first outposts of the Himalaya,—rise above the wide level of Bengal. At this place he landed to pass the night on shore, but was recognized by a peasant who had incurred his displeasure some months before, and whose ears he had caused to be cut off. The injured man now re-

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

vealed the secret to some soldiers; and thus the Nabob was discovered and seized, and brought back in chains to the palace of Moorshedabad,—to the very presence chamber, once his own, now that of Meer Jaffier. The fallen prince, still more abject in spirit than in fortunes, flung himself down before his triumphant subject, and with an agony of tears implored his life. It is said that Meer Jaffier was touched with some compassion, and merely directed that his prisoner should be led away; but his son Meeran, a youth no less ferocious and cruel than Surajah Dowlah himself*, gave the guards orders that he should be despatched in his cell. Barely sufficient respite was granted him, at his own urgent entreaty, to make his ablutions, and to say his prayers. Next morning the mangled remains were exposed to the city on an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Aliverdi, while Meer Jaffier excused himself to the English for the deed of blood committed without their knowledge and consent.

The installation of Meer Jaffier, as Nabob of Bengal, was performed with great solemnity. Clive himself led his friend to the MUSNUD, or seat of honour, and, according to the Indian custom, presented him with a plate full of gold rupees; he

* Of Meeran Clive writes, two years afterwards: "Sooner "or later I am persuaded that worthless young dog will attempt "his father's overthrow. How often have I advised the old "fool against putting too much power into the hands of his "nearest relations!". To Warren Hastings, Resident at Moorshedabad, September 21. 1759.

then, through an interpreter, addressed the native chiefs, exhorting them to be joyful that Fortune had given them so good a Prince. Nor did the new Nabob fail to bestow on his allies marks as splendid and more substantial of his favour. It was agreed, according to the previous stipulation, that the English should have the entire property of the land within the Mahratta ditch, and for 600 yards beyond it; and the ZEMINDARY, or feudal tenure on payment of rent, of all the country between Calcutta and the sea. The money granted them in compensation for their losses, and in donatives to the fleet, the army, and the Committee, amounted to no less than 2,750,000*l.**, although, as the wealth of Surajah Dowlah proved far less than was expected, it was not found possible to pay the whole of this sum at once. Clive accepted for his own share a gift of above 200,000*l.* When, some years afterwards, before a Committee of the House of Commons, he was accused for taking so much, he defended himself by saying, that he might, if he had pleased, have taken much more! "When I recollect," he said, "entering "the Nabob's treasury at Moorshedabad, with "heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, "and these crowned with jewels,"— here he added an oath, and violently struck his hand to his head, —"at this moment do I stand astonished at my "own moderation!"†

* Orme's Hist., vol. ii. p. 180.

† Malcolm's Life, vol. i. p. 313.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

A painful office remained,—to tell Omichund, that, notwithstanding the promise in his favour, he should have no share in all this wealth. As interpreter and spokesman for that purpose the British chief employed Mr. Scrafton, a civil servant of the Company. A meeting having been held at the house of one of the principal SOUCARS or bankers of Moorshedabad, Clive, at its conclusion, said to Mr. Scrafton: "It is now time to undeceive "Omichund." Mr. Scrafton, as if ashamed of the task, performed it in the fewest and shortest words. "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; "you are to have nothing."—At this announcement the unhappy dupe staggered back, as from a blow; he fainted away, and was borne by an attendant to his house, where, on recovering from his swoon, he remained for many hours silent and abstracted, and then began to show symptoms of imbecility. Some days afterwards he visited Clive, who received him kindly, advised him, for change of scene, to undertake a pilgrimage to some one of the Indian shrines, and was willing, on his return, to employ him again in public business. But the intellect of Omichund had been wholly unhinged, and he expired not many months from this period in a state of second childhood.

The return of Clive to Calcutta was attended with general rejoicing and applause, and from this time forward, during several years, he was, in truth, master of Bengal. The East India Directors had, indeed, formed a most unwise scheme for conduct-

ing the government of Calcutta, by a system of rotation, but at the news of the victory of Plassey they gladly conferred the office of Governor on Clive. As a statesman he displayed scarcely less ability than as a soldier. It was his energy as both which upheld the feeble character and the tottering throne of Meer Jaffier. Thus, when, in 1759, Shah Alum, the eldest son of the Emperor of Delhi, succeeded in collecting a large army of adventurers, and marched down upon Bahar, the terrified Nabob was eager to purchase peace by the cession of a province or the payment of a tribute. Far different were the views of the British chief. "I would not," he wrote to Meer Jaffier, "have you think of coming to any terms "..... Rest assured that the English are "staunch and firm friends, and that they never "desert a cause in which they have once taken a "part."* Yet at this time the British force of Clive was much diminished by an expedition which he had sent out to the southern coast. With a little army, comprising less than 500 Europeans, he undauntedly marched to the aid of his ally; and such were now the terrors of his name, that at his approach the mighty host of Shah Alum melted away; the siege of Patna was raised, and the war ended without a blow. In gratitude for this great service Meer Jaffier bestowed upon Clive a splendid JAGHIRE or domain, producing,

* Letter, February 10. 1759.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

according to Clive's own computation, an income of 27,000*l.* a year.

At nearly the same period Clive was directing from afar hostilities in the districts known in the Carnatic by the name of the "Northern Circars"; a tract of coast extending from the mouth of the Kistna to the pagoda of Juggernaut. These districts had been invaded by Bussy from the Deccan, and on his departure a French force, commanded by the Marquis de Conflans, had been left for their defence. On the other hand, Clive sent thither a large detachment, under Colonel Forde, an officer trained under his own eye. The result was complete success; the French were worsted in a pitched engagement, and the English reduced Masulipatam against a garrison superior in numbers to themselves.

Towards the close of the same year, 1759, the English in Bengal were threatened with danger, equally great and unforeseen, from the Dutch in Java. Although peace prevailed between the two nations the Dutch could not view without jealousy the success and renown of their commercial rivals; they entered into secret negotiations with Meer Jaffier, who, with the usual fickleness of Asiatics, had become desirous of deserting the English alliance; and they sent into the Hooghly an armament of seven large ships and 1,400 soldiers. The pretext was to reinforce their own settlement at Chinsura, and to obtain redress for the grievances which they alleged against the Presidency of Calcutta,

especially the compelling Dutch ships to take English pilots on the river. It was a moment of anxious consideration for Clive. In the first place, although Colonel Forde had returned from the Circars, other detachments had gone out to assist their countrymen at Madras; and the squadron, commanded since the decease of Admiral Watson by Admiral Pocock, had long since sailed in the same direction. If Clive suffered the Dutch ships to pass up the river, and the Dutch troops to join the Nabob's, the English might be overpowered and driven from Bengal. If he attempted to stop them, there was the risk of kindling a war between the two nations, or, on the other hand, of being disavowed by the authorities in England, and consigned to disgrace and ruin. Nor were other personal motives wanting to dissuade Clive from action. At this very period he had entrusted a large share of his fortune to the Dutch East India Company, for speedy remittance to Europe. Nevertheless, in this emergency, Clive showed himself, as ever, firm, resolute, unwavering. He was informed that the Dutch had landed their troops, and committed various acts of violence, and a letter was addressed to him by Colonel Forde, stating, that if he had an Order of Council he could now attack the invaders with a fair prospect of destroying them. Clive was playing at cards in the evening when he received this letter, and without leaving the table he wrote an answer in pencil: "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

"send you the Order of Council to-morrow." * Accordingly the Dutch were attacked both by land and water, and, notwithstanding their superiority of force in both, in both were they defeated. Of their seven ships every one fell into the hands of the English. At these tidings the chiefs of the settlement at Chinsura hastened to sue for peace, disavowing the acts of their naval commander, owning themselves the aggressors, and agreeing to reimburse the English Company for the charges of the war,—on which terms they obtained the restitution of their ships. Thus it happened that the news of their apology reached Europe nearly as soon as the news of the attack upon them, so as effectually to prevent any complaint or remonstrance on the part of the Government of Holland.†

Only a few weeks after these events, in February 1760, Clive, who was suffering from ill-health, embarked for England. "With him it appeared" (to use the strong language of a contemporary) "that "the soul was departing from the body of the "government of Bengal." At home he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey,—and speedily obtained a seat in the

* Malcolm's Life of Clive, vol. ii. p. 97.

† See on this point a note to Favre's Memoir on Holland, in the *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe* (vol. ii. p. 154. ed. 1802.) By a shortly subsequent treaty the Dutch at Chinsura further engaged to raise no fortification and maintain no troops in Bengal.

English House of Commons. During his second residence in India,—a period of less than five years, —he had acquired a fortune amounting at the very lowest computation to 40,000*l.* a year.* Several of the transactions in which he had engaged for the public advantage or his own seem to me, as I have elsewhere stated, repugnant to justice and good faith. Those who explore his character with minute attention may, perhaps, moreover detect, not merely some great faults, but some little foibles. Thus, although he was plain and free from all ostentation in the field, he might be thought in society fonder of fine clothes than becomes a hero. At one of the busiest periods of his public career, —the year of Plassey,—he could find leisure to weigh the comparative merits for a Court suit of "a scarlet coat with handsome gold lace," or "the "common wear of velvet †",—and to instruct his friend Mr. Orme, the historian, to send him "two hundred shirts, the best and finest you can "get for love or money; some of the ruffles worked "with a border either in squares or points, and the "rest plain."‡ But with every drawback or deduction which can fairly be made from his character, there will still remain very much to call forth praise and inspire admiration. He was in deed, as Chatham once called him, "a Heaven

* Malcolm's Life, vol. ii. p. 187.

† Letter from Captain Latham, August 5. 1757.

‡ Letter, August 1. 1757.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

"born general*,"—who, with no military training, had shown consummate military genius. With nearly as little study of politics he displayed nearly as great abilities for government. Energy,—which, perhaps, of all human qualities, is the one most conducive to success,—energy and fearlessness, were peculiarly his own. Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this—and in its results more than this—is due from England to Clive. Had he never been born I do not believe that we should—at least in that generation—have conquered Hindostan; had he lived longer I doubt if we should—at least in that generation—have lost North America.

The narrative of the events that followed in Bengal,—the misrule of Clive's successors,—the dethronement and the reinstatement of Meer Jaffier,—though occurring in part before the peace of 1763, belongs more properly to a later period, when producing Clive's third and final visit to India. I therefore pass at once to the important transactions of which the Carnatic had meanwhile been the scene.—The Declaration of War between France and England found the chiefs both at Pondicherry and Madras ill-prepared for any expedition of importance, and engaging in none but desultory and feeble hostilities. The English set fire to Wandewash; the French, in retaliation, to Conjeveram. The latter, under M. d'Auteuil, besieged

* This was in 1758. Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 276.

Trichinopoly; the former, under Captain Calliaud, relieved the place. But the attention of both parties was intently fixed on a great armament which France had announced the intention of despatching to the Indian seas; comprising nearly 1,200 regular troops, and commanded by Lieutenant General Comte de Lally. This officer was sprung from an Irish family which had followed James the Second into exile; his true name being Lally of Tully-dale, since Gallicised to Tollendal.—A soldier from his earliest years, he had highly distinguished himself both at Dettingen and Fontenoy; in December 1745 he had warmly pressed the expedition against England from Dunkirk, and had been appointed one of its chiefs. Brave, active, and zealous, he was well qualified for military service; but a hasty temper and a caustic wit too frequently offended his inferiors, and marred his exertions.

The armament of Lally was delayed by various causes, both in its departure and on its voyage, and it was not till near the close of April 1758 that it cast anchor before Pondicherry. Almost immediately on its arrival the French squadron, which was commanded by the Comte d'Aché, was engaged by the British under Admiral Pocock, but the battle proved indecisive, with little result to either party, beyond the loss of a few men and some damage to the ships. In August another naval engagement, equally indecisive, ensued. The Comte d'Aché, satisfied with this result, and with

CHAP. XL.

having landed the troops, then sailed back to the Mauritius.

INDIA.

Lally, who had brought out a commission as Governor General of the French in India, displayed from the first hour of his landing the impetuosity of his temper. His instructions prescribed the siege of Fort St. David, and he sent forth a body of troops for that object on the very same night that he arrived. So much haste bodes little real speed; the troops thus in hurry despatched, without provisions or guides, arrived before Fort St. David way-worn and hungry, and ill-disposed for action. In a few days, however, they were quickened by large reinforcements, and by the presence of Lally. The works of the siege were now vigorously pushed forward; a part in them all being urged by compulsion on the reluctant and scrupulous natives. "In India," says Mr. Orme, "even the lower Castes have their distinctions, "insomuch that the COOLIE, who carries a burden "on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder. "Distinctions likewise prevail amongst the sol- "diery, for the man who rides will not cut the "grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time "would the Sepoy dig the trench which was to "protect him from a cannon-ball."*—Such prejudices, which a wise ruler will ever consult, until he is able to correct, were now derided and set at

* Orme's Hist. vol. ii. p. 305. "Hence," he adds, "the "numerous train of followers and assistants which always "accompanies a camp in India."

nought by Lally. Thus he carried his immediate object, but thus also he forfeited for ever all claim to the attachment and regard of the native population. According to another historian, "the consternation created by such an act was greater "than if he had set fire to the town, and butchered "every man whom it contained."*

At this juncture Fort St. David was the strongest that the East India Company possessed, and it held a sufficient garrison; but the commanding officer was far from able, and part of the men are represented as drunken and disorderly. So early as the 2d of June terms of surrender, by no means honourable to themselves, were proposed by the besieged, and on the evening of the same day were accepted by the besiegers. Lally, in pursuance of the instructions which he had brought from France, immediately razed the fortifications to the ground, nor have they ever since been rebuilt. Thus the name of Fort St. David,—up to that time so conspicuous in the annals of the Company,—henceforth no longer appears.

Elated with this conquest, Lally pursued his warfare; he failed in an expedition against Tanjore, but succeeded in an expedition against Arcot. His aspiring views extended to the siege of Madras, and to the extinction of the British name in the Carnatic. For this great object he mustered every man at his disposal, even recalling Bussy

* Mill's Hist. vol. iii. p. 193. ed. 1826.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

from the Deccan, which had so long been the scene of that officer's active and able exertions. His want of money was no small obstacle in the way of his designs; to supply it he again offended the natives by plundering a pagoda of its wealth; and in a more praiseworthy spirit subscribed largely from his own private funds, exhorting his subordinates to follow his example. But he had already made nearly all of them his personal enemies by his haughty reproaches and his bitter jests. Thus, for example, when he found his Council less alert than they might have been in providing the beasts of burthen he required, he exclaimed that he could not do better than harness to his waggons the Members of Council themselves![*] All his letters at this period were filled with invectives of no common asperity.[†]

In December 1758 Lally appeared before Madras, at the head of 2,700 European and 4,000 native troops. The English had already, in expectation of a siege, called in nearly all their garrisons and outposts, and could muster within their walls 4,000 soldiers, of whom 1,800 were of European race. Besides these there was a small body under Captain Calliaud, which had marched from

* Voltaire, Siécle de Louis XV. ch. 34.

† "L'Enfer m'a vomi dans ce pays d'iniquités, et j'attends "comme Jonas la baleine qui me recevra dans son ventre." (Lettre du Comte de Lally, le 27 Decembre 1758.) In another letter he says he would rather have to govern the Caffres in Madagascar than the Europeans in India.

Trichinopoly, and which hung upon the rear of the French, most effectually intercepting their supplies and harassing their detachments. "They are like "flies," said Lally himself, "no sooner beaten off "one place than they settle in another!"—The French had no difficulty in making themselves masters of the Black Town; but this, from the large stores of arrack it contained, proved rather an obstacle to their further progress, as augmenting the insubordination of the men. On the other hand, the English steadily continued the defence of Fort St. George; they made on one occasion a most vigorous sally, under Colonel Draper; and their Governor, Mr. Pigot, displayed throughout the siege both spirit and judgment. Lally had, no doubt, many obstacles to encounter, but perhaps the greatest of all was his own unpopularity. He found that, though he might enforce obedience, it was not so easy to stifle discontent or to inspire alacrity. When, after nearly two months investment, a breach had been effected by his batteries, his principal officers declared that it was not accessible, adding their opinion that a prolongation of the siege would be merely a wanton waste of human lives. At this time the supply of provision was scanty and uncertain, and the pay of the troops several weeks in arrear. The Sepoys had deserted in great numbers, and some of the Europeans threatened to follow their example. Under such discouraging circumstances, Lally, with bitter mor-

CHAP. XL.

INDIA.

tification, resolved to burn the Black Town and to raise the siege of the White. Happily, of these two designs, the first was prevented, and the second quickened by the opportune appearance, on the 16th of February 1759, of Admiral Pocock and his squadron, which had sailed to Bombay several months before, and now returned with some fresh troops on board. The French, apprehensive of a combined attack upon them, commenced that very night their march to Arcot, leaving behind their sick and wounded, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and an hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder.

After this great reverse to the French arms, and the return of their chief to Pondicherry, hostilities languished for some time between the rival nations. But in the autumn there ensued another naval engagement, from another voyage of the Admiral Comte d'Aché to this coast. On the 2d of September his squadron was encountered by Pocock's; the English having nine ships of the line and the French eleven, with a great superiority both in guns and men. Nevertheless, after a cannonade of two hours, the French sailed away in great confusion, leaving to the English the honours of victory. The result, however, as on the two last occasions, was by no means decisive; the loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, and the English, though the victors, suffered the most damage in their ships. D'Aché immediately proceeded to disembark a few men and a little money at Pon-

dicherry, and then, notwithstanding the vehement remonstrances of the Governor and Council, returned with his squadron to the islands.

At nearly the same period the English at Madras were cheered with the tidings that Eyre Coote had been promoted in England to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and was coming over at the head of the King's 84th Regiment and other reinforcements. Major Brereton, who meanwhile commanded in the field, appears to have been desirous of distinguishing himself before the arrival of his chief. Thus he attempted to reduce the fort of Wandewash by three divisions in a night-attack, but signally failed, with the loss of 200 men. So indignant was Brereton himself at his repulse, that, on seeing the crowd of English fugitives, he drew his sword, and ran the first man he met through the body!*

Colonel Eyre Coote, with the last division of his force, landed at Madras on the 27th of October 1759. Born in 1726, Coote was now in the prime of life, with none of those infirmities of body or of mind which clouded over his later years, and obscured the lustre of his fame. His influence over the native soldiers was great, and not forgotten by them to this day; and he showed himself on all occasions not less active and resolute than

* Orme's Hist. vol. ii. p. 521. He adds: "Unfortunately the "man was one of the bravest in the army, so that this example "carried little influence."

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

prudent and wary.—One of his earliest measures on reaching the Carnatic was to retrieve the recent check to the British arms, by a more regular and skilful attack on Wandewash. In this enterprise Major Brereton did good service at the head of a division, and the fort was carried with little loss on the last day of November.

At this news Lally took the field. His dissensions with the civil service still continued, and his want of money to pay the troops had already produced more than one mutiny among them. He had, however, obtained as auxiliaries a body of Mahrattas, and he had under his command the sagacious and experienced Bussy, but, unhappily for himself, was jealous of his influence and distrustful of his counsels. Bussy strongly urged the imprudence of attempting to recover Wandewash, in the face of the English army. Lally, however, thought the honour of his arms at stake, and persevered in the design. He accordingly proceeded to the attack of the fort so lately lost, when Coote, who had been in expectation of this movement, at once marched upon him with his whole force. Lally had no other choice than either to raise the siege, or to give battle on the ground selected by his enemy. He preferred the latter alternative. On the morning of the 22d of January 1760 he perceived the English, after some skilful manœuvres, advancing along the base of the mountain of Wandewash, protected on their left by the rugged height,

and on their right by the fire of the fort. Immediately, while yet maintaining his batteries of siege, he drew up the remainder of his army on the open plain. This was, for the most part, stony ground, but here and there intersected with rice fields, so as to render nearly useless the superiority of the French in cavalry. According to the English computation, the French numbers in line of battle were 2,250 Europeans, 300 of them horse, and 1,300 Sepoys. There were also 3,000 Mahrattas; but these kept carefully aloof at the hour of action. The English had 1,900 Europeans, of whom only eighty were cavalry, 2,100 Sepoys, and 1,250 native horsemen. At nearly the commencement of the battle, the French horse, led on by Lally in person, was thrown into disorder by two English pieces of artillery, and was driven back to the encampment. Lally hastened to put himself at the head of the foot soldiers, and cheered them on to the charge. In pursuance of his brave example, the French regiment of Lorraine especially displayed the utmost gallantry; it formed in a column twelve in front, and came rushing full upon the King's 84th. In a moment the two regiments were mingled at the point of the bayonet. The battle now became general, and fiercely contested among the Europeans, but ere long began to declare in favour of Coote,—a result hastened by the accidental explosion of a tumbril in the French ranks.—Among other brave soldiers, Major Brereton fell mortally wounded, and when fallen

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

refused the assistance of the men next to him, bidding them not mind him, but follow up their victory. On the other side, M. de Bussy, attempting to rally the fugitives, and fighting with undaunted spirit at the head of a handful of men that still adhered to him, was surrounded and made prisoner sword in hand. The day was now decided. The French, notwithstanding the efforts of Lally, gave way in all directions from the field. In the battle or pursuit their loss was estimated at nearly 600 men; the English had 190 killed and wounded. It deserves notice that the brunt of the conflict had fallen entirely on the Europeans of both armies, the native troops taking no part in it since the first cannonade. In the evening the officers of the English Sepoys came to congratulate Colonel Coote on his victory, and with great coolness thanked him for the sight of such a battle as they never yet had seen! *

The English at Madras, who felt their own fate dependent on the issue of this battle, were watching with feverish anxiety for its earliest tidings. At sunrise the next morning one of the black spies of the English camp brought them some vague rumours of success, but it was not till noon that they received a note of two lines in pencil, written by Coote from the field of battle. Then, indeed, relieved from all their fears, they burst forth into exclamations of delight; acknowledging

* Orme's Hist. vol. ii. p. 589.

also, with well-deserved applause, the skill and intrepidity of the British commander. The joy this day at Madras, says a contemporary, could only be compared to that at Calcutta on the news of Plassey. In truth, as the one victory gained us Bengal, so did the other the Carnatic. It is remarkable, however, in all these operations by or against Lally, how little weight the native powers threw into either scale. Scarcely does it appear worthy of commemoration that Mahomed Ali was present with the English at Madras during the first part of the siege, and afterwards passed to Trichinopoly; or that Salabat Jung, after the departure of Bussy, consented to renounce the French alliance.

I may also observe on this occasion of the three most eminent chiefs who ever fought in British India,—Lord Clive, Sir Eyre Coote, and Sir Arthur Wellesley,—that they gained the battles of Plassey, of Wandewash, and of Assye, at the ages respectively of thirty-two, thirty-three, and thirty-four. It may thence, perhaps, be doubted (notwithstanding some recent and most brilliant examples to the contrary) whether the more modern practice of sending forth to military command in that unwholesome climate veterans already bending beneath the weight of years be in all cases entirely consistent with the means by which our Eastern greatness was achieved.

Had Coote been aware how ill Pondicherry was then provided, and how discordantly governed,

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

he might probably have pushed forward to that city immediately after his triumph at Wandewash; but knowing how large was still the force of the enemy, he first applied himself to besiege and reduce the outposts of their dominion. Arcot, Trincomalee, Devi-Cottah, Cuddalore, and several other places fell successively into his hands. During this time the French were making strenuous efforts to obtain some native reinforcements. With that view they opened a secret negotiation with Hyder Ali, afterwards the founder of the great kingdom of Mysore, and at this period the general in chief of the Mysorean army. It was stipulated that Hyder Ali should send, as auxiliaries, a body of 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, and receive in return from the French the fort of Thiagur, one of their last remaining strong-holds in the Carnatic. The first division of the Mysoreans marched accordingly, and a detachment, chiefly of Sepoys, having been sent out by Coote to repel them, was itself totally routed. Nevertheless, the result of this treaty proved of little advantage to the French. Only a few weeks after the auxiliaries had arrived intelligence reached them of a revolution in Mysore, threatening danger to their chief, upon which, without any notice to Lally, they set off by night, and hastened home.

The net was now closing round Pondicherry itself. Through the boundary-hedge of thorns and prickly plants, which, as in many other Indian

towns, encompassed its outer defences, the inhabitants could discern the hostile army encamped, and ready for the siege. The departure of D'Aché's squadron had left the English undisputed masters of the sea, and scarce any further supplies, either by land or water, could reach the beleaguered city. The French valour,—the rainy season,—and a most violent storm in the roads,—interposed, however, considerable obstacles in the way of Coote. Nor was Discord, which raged so fiercely within the walls of Pondicherry, altogether absent from the English camp. In consequence of orders from home, given in ignorance of the late events, a dispute as to the chief command arose between Colonel Coote and Colonel Monson. At one period Coote had already relinquished his post, and was preparing to embark for Bengal; but Monson receiving a severe wound, and becoming for a time disabled, the leadership happily reverted to the victor of Wandewash.

In the night between the 8th and 9th of December four English batteries opened against the walls of Pondicherry. The besieged were firm and resolute in their defence, fighting every foot of ground, and making more than one successful sally. They had also, to spare their provisions, put themselves upon half rations, and sent forth from the town the remaining native inhabitants; a wretched multitude, which remained famishing and helpless between the gates and the batteries, and was

CHAP. XL.

INDIA.

debarred access at either, until, after some days, the humanity of the English allowed them to pass. Notwithstanding such strong measures, it was found, before the middle of January, that there only remained sufficient provisions for two days. In this extremity Lally and his Council sent deputies to capitulate, and failing to obtain more favourable terms, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Accordingly, on the 16th of January 1761, the English marched into the place. Great civilities passed between the chiefs; Coote dining that day at Lally's table; but Lally and his French, still amounting to above 2,000, remained prisoners of war. "All," says a contemporary, "wore the face "of famine, fatigue, or disease. The grenadiers "of Lorraine and Lally, once the ablest-bodied "men in the army, appeared the most impaired, "having constantly put themselves forward to "every service; and it was recollected that from "their first landing, throughout all the services of "the field, and all the distresses of the blockade, "not a man of them had ever deserted to the "English colours."*

Almost immediately after the surrender a dispute arose among the victors for the possession of the place. Coote and his officers claimed it for the King; Mr. Pigot and the other civilians from Madras claimed it for the Company. The quarrel grew high, until at length Mr. Pigot declared, that

* Orme's Hist. vol. ii. p. 722.

unless his pretensions were admitted he should refuse to supply funds for the subsistence of the troops. This threat barred all further argument.— In return for the destruction of Fort St. David, and in pursuance of orders from home, Mr. Pigot took measures for razing to the ground the fortifications of Pondicherry, nay, even all the buildings that stood within them.

Thus ended the French power in India. For although Pondicherry was restored to them by the peace of 1763, and although the stipulation in that peace against their raising fortresses or maintaining troops applied only to Bengal, yet even in the Carnatic they could never again attain their former influence nor recover their lost ground; and the extinction of their East India Company speedily ensued.

This result, however mortifying to French ambition, has been acknowledged by French writers as a just retribution on that Company, and on the Government of Louis the Fifteenth, for their cruel oppression of almost every great commander who had served them faithfully in India.* The closing scenes of La Bourdonnais and of Dupleix have been already described; there remains to tell the still more tragic fate of Lally. On arriving a prisoner in England, and hearing of the charges

* "Oh combien cette Compagnie des Indes Francaise avait "merité sa chute!"—Biograph. Univ. art. DUPLEIX. See also Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vol. xxix. p. 303.

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

brought against him in France, he wrote to Pitt, soliciting that he might return on his parole, and confront his accusers*, and with this request the British Minister complied. But no sooner was Lally at Paris than he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained fifteen months without even a preliminary examination. When at length his trial did come on before the Parliament of Paris, it was pressed with the utmost acrimony, both by the Crown and East India Company; and a legal quibble on the term "High Treason" enabled his judges to sentence him to death. When informed of their decision, "Is this," he passionately cried, "the "reward of forty-five years service!"—and snatching up a compass with which he had been drawing maps during his imprisonment, he struck it at his breast. His hand, however, was held back by some person near him; and that same afternoon, the 9th of May 1766, he was dragged along to public execution in a dung-cart, with a gag between his lips, and beheaded on the Place de Grève. Such was the end of a veteran, who had fought and bled for his adopted country, seldom, indeed, with prudence and discretion, but always with courage and honour.

* See his letter in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 144.

By the downfal of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy to the native states had lain in resisting Europeans by Europeans, —in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single-handed they fell one by one,—some dropping from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree,—others striving fiercely, but without avail, against us. From the precarious tenure of some two or three petty forts,—from the mere Mahratta-ditch of Calcutta, or the "bound-hedge" of Madras,—our empire has spread far and wide; from Ceylon to Gujerât,—from the snows of the Himalaya to the sea-line of the Sunderbunds,—along the loftiest mountains and the widest plains in the known world. In India at this moment the number of our subjects and dependents is in all probability greater than Alexander, than Augustus, than Charlemagne, than Napoleon, ever knew. And if that vast people be as yet low in the scale of nations, —long enslaved, and still debased by a succession of tyrannies,—and led astray by foul superstitions and revolting rites,—their depression gives them only the stronger claim on our sympathy and care. Never did a Government stand more nearly in the parental relation to its subjects than the English Government of India. The English are as much superior to the Hindoos,—not in natural gifts, but in training, in knowledge, and in prin-

CHAP. XL. INDIA.

ciples,—as a parent is superior to a child. God grant, that as we hold a parent's place we may fulfil a parent's duty,—not merely to command and direct, but to enlighten and reform! For many years, however, we did not act fully on these maxims, and our course in India, though far above any Asiatic was yet below the European rules of right. Surely it behoves our chief statesmen, of whatever party, to take to heart the awful responsibility which this state of things devolves upon them,—to weigh well, and with scrupulous attention, every new appointment made, not only in India itself, but in the Indian department at home. Let them be assured that even the humblest of these appointments, if unwisely made, may become directly or indirectly the cause of suffering to unprotected millions, which are often too timid for complaint, or too distant for redress. To these millions let us prove that we have higher objects than additions of territory or accumulations of wealth. Let us aim at the overthrow of the idol-temples, not rashly, not through violence and persecution, but by affording means to know the truth,—their overthrow by the hands of their own worshippers, converted and reclaimed. Let us cast aside for ever the base, the miserable fear, lest the Hindoos, as they approach our level of civilization, may become less patient of our sway. It is, I trust, reserved for British counsels in the coming age to extend even much further the work auspiciously

begun of good government in India, and to give even to the meanest peasant of that land fresh reason to bless God, in the fulness of his heart, that his lot is cast beneath the Great Company, instead of the Rajahs and Sultauns of former days!

January 30. 1844.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

PRINCE CHARLES STUART (UNDER THE NAME OF JOHN DOUGLAS) TO MR. BULKELEY.

[From a rough draught in the Stuart Papers.]

June 3. 1749. 1749.

I WRIT you last the 26th of May from Venice with a letter inclosed. This is sent by one that promised safe delivery. My friendship for you does not permit me any longer silence as to what regards a person you esteem. His situation is singular; and though now rejected by many, he may be soon as much courted. Being desperate, honest, and with only one *point de vue*, what cannot be compassed? Bologna was said to be his residence, but that was but a blind; I can firmly assure you never shall any of the Pope's dominions see his face. The only one in Italy would have been Venice. That same person never intends to make but a passage over of France. . . . Now my friend must skulk, to the perfect dishonour of his worthy relations, until he finds a reception fitting at home or abroad.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

MEMORANDA BY PRINCE CHARLES.

"Remitted to B. (Colonel Brett?) the 22d June, 1750."
[From a fragment in the Stuart Papers.]

Instructions for ——, who is to inform himself whether —— will receive the P. (Prince) upon occasion, who is willing to

1750. trust his person in his hands; if he should decline it, to find out some other proper person for that purpose, as the P. (Prince) is determined to go over at any rate.

To speak to Sir C. G. (Charles Goring?) about a ship that it may arrive at Antwerp, to carry over his brother, and to be there some time in the beginning of August.

To visit Mr. P. of D., and to see what he has done in his own and the neighbouring counties, and to agree where the arms, &c. may be most conveniently landed, the grand affair of L. (London) to be attempted at the same time.

To inform the principal persons that the P. (Prince) desires the whole may be forwarded with the greatest expedition, and that no time may be lost; that a Declaration may be prepared in which the funds are to be referred to a free Parliament, and the army encouraged to join the P. (Prince) by showing the nullity of the obligation of the oaths they have taken for the E. (Elector).

To acquaint particular persons that the K. (King) will R. (resign), in order to prevent any proclamation, as lately happened at N., and to return, as soon as may conveniently happen, to me.

Mem.—Concerning some things to be proposed to B. (Duke of Beaufort?) for adding to the P. (Prince's) Declaration, — to remove the prejudices so unjustly grounded against the K. (King), — and also something concerning the bribery in the F. M. (French Ministers), which has hitherto prevented the assistance that would have been given me, always agreeable and fitting to the inclinations of both the K. (King of France) and I.

1750.

THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

[Stuart Papers.]

Rome, December 30. 1750.

To-morrow you end your 30th year. May you see many more than double that number, and happier ones than those you have already past! The hardships you have gone through, and do perhaps still undergo, are not small, and it is to be hoped they will contribute at last to what they are chiefly directed. But in the darkness you keep me, as to all that relates to you, I can pray and wish, but I can neither judge nor advise, except on one single article, which is so obvious and so important that I should think everybody, who really wishes you well, should be of the same opinion in that respect, and that is, your securing the succession of our Family by marrying. I cannot think you so selfish as to have yourself only in view in all you suffer. The happiness of our country must undoubtedly be your motive, and by consequence, you would never surely restrict that happiness to your own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful Kings, who may have no other interests but those of our country. Your giving lawful heirs to the Crown will not only be a constant security to your own person, but it will make you more considered and respected abroad, and will undoubtedly give new life and vigour to the cause and your friends, whose zeal can never be so warm when all their hopes are centred in you alone. Had you entered into the view I formerly gave you, you had been probably at this time the father of a family, with a wife whom it would not have been beneath you to have married had you been in England. But it is useless to look backward, and what gives me the greatest concern in all this is, that you have put yourself in a situation and way of living which renders your marrying anybody absolutely impracticable. This, as long as it lasts, must appear extraordinary and singular to persons of reflection and sense, because the motives and object of your marrying are obvious to all, and those of your pursuing your present conduct and

1750. scheme, whatever they may be, can be only known to such as are the authors and promoters of them. For my part, I can have no other view but your real good and advantage, and I am so much convinced of the necessity of your marrying, that I could almost say that I would rather see you married to a private gentlewoman than that you should not be it at all; and therefore I cannot but recommend earnestly to you to think seriously on the matter, and, as you cannot now hope to make a marriage suitable to yourself, to endeavour to make one that may be at least as little unequal as possible; for I can only, on this occasion, exhort you in general, since I cannot think of any particular person to propose to you who might be any ways proper and at the same time willing to marry you. If this letter has the same fate with many others I have writ to you, I might have saved myself the trouble of writing it; but whatever reception it may meet with, or impression it may make, I shall still have the comfort of having acquitted myself of the duty of a father, in telling you what I really think for your good, and of showing you, at the same time, that no behaviour of yours can alter the warm concern I shall ever take in all that relates to you, whom I beseech God to bless, protect, and prosper, and direct upon all occasions.

JAMES R.

SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

Berlin, 1751.

(*Extracts.*)

[Sir Charles proceeded as British Minister to Berlin in May, 1750; but was recalled and sent back to his old post at Dresden in February, 1751. See Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 515.; and vol. ii. p. 463.]

HIS Prussian Majesty does not give entire confidence either to Podewils or Finkenstein (his Ministers of State); that he reserves for two persons who constantly reside with him at

Potsdam, and whose names are Heichel and Fredersdorf; the first of whom is his Prussian Majesty's private Secretary, and who is always kept under the same roof with his Majesty, and is so well watched, that a person may be at this Court seven years without once seeing him. 1751.

. . . . . .

His Prussian Majesty's Ministers at Berlin, I mean those for Foreign Affairs, make the oddest figure of any in Europe. They seldom or never see any despatches that are sent to the Prussian Ministers at foreign Courts, and all letters that come to Berlin from foreign Courts go directly to the King, so that M. Podewils and Count Finkenstein know no more of what passes in Europe than what they are informed of by the Gazettes. When any of us go to them on any business, the surprise they are in easily betrays their ignorance, and the only answer you ever get is, that they will lay what you say before their master, and give you an answer as soon as he shall have signified his pleasure to them. When you return to their houses for this answer, they tell you the exact words which the King has directed, and never one word more; nor are you permitted to argue any point.

. . . . . .

If a courier is to be despatched to Versailles or a Minister to Vienna, his Prussian Majesty draws himself the instructions for the one, and writes the letters for the other. This you will say is great; but if a dancer at the Opera has disputes with a singer, or if one of those performers wants a new pair of stockings, a plume for his helmet, or a finer petticoat, the same King of Prussia sits in judgment on the cause, and with his own hand answers the dancer's or the singer's letter. His Majesty laid out 20,000*l.* to build a fine theatre, and his music and singers cost him near the same sum every year; yet this same King, when an Opera is to be performed, will not allow 10*l.* a night to light up the theatre with wax candles; and the smoke that rises from the bad oil, and the horrid stink that flows from the tallow, make many of the audience sick, and actually spoil the whole entertainment. What I have thought about this Prince is very

1751. true, and I believe after reading what I say about him you will think so too. He is great in great things, and little in little ones!

In confirmation of the statements in the preceding letter as to Frederick's personal and minute attention to even the smallest details of business, and as a specimen of his peremptory method in transacting it, I insert the following curious document, which I have extracted and translated from the original German in Preuss. Urkundenbuch ("Collection of Documents"), vol. ii. pp. 222—235.

Marginal Notes by King Frederick the Second on some of the Reports from his Cabinet Ministers.

(*In the King's own writing.*)

1. Petition from Simon, Merchant and Commercial Counsellor (*Commerzien Rath*) at Stettin, to be allowed to purchase the estate of Kraatzen for 40,000 dollars.

Forty thousand dollars invested in commerce will bring in 8 per cent., in landed property only 4. So this man does not understand his own business. A cobbler should continue a cobbler; a merchant should think of his trade, and not of buying estates.

2. Petition from the town of Frankfort-on-Oder, against the quartering of troops upon them.

Why it cannot be otherwise. Do they think that I can put the regiment into my pocket? But the barracks shall be rebuilt.

3. Petition from the bakers at Potsdam, that corn from the public magazines may be allowed them.

They have had above 500 *winspel* already. *Ce sont des Canailles.* Have them up before the magistrate!

4. Petition from the stocking-weaver Esche, for the sum of

Patciencia!

1751.

3200 dollars, due to him on Saxon revenue bonds.

5. Petition from Colonel I——t that he may be stationed in Silesia, as he intends to purchase estates in that province.

That is the very reason why he must not be stationed in Silesia. He would improve the estates and neglect the service.

6. Petition from the inhabitants of Potsdam, to assist them in paying a contribution of 32,000 dollars levied by the Austrians.

Let them look to paying their own debts. I shall not give that rascally rabble a single *groschen.*

7. Petition from the *Kammerherr* Baron von Müller, for leave to visit the baths at Aix la Chapelle.

What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back like a beggar.

8. Renewed petition from Baron von Müller for leave to visit the baths.

Let him go to the devil!

9. Petition for the expenses of receiving and entertaining their Highnesses of Brunswick on their visit in Prussia, 700 dollars.

Pay it this once, but it is a scandalous robbery. Another time I shall send a person to keep the accounts.

10. Petition from the Count of Lippe-Detmold, that the claims of the town of Lippstadt may be duly considered in the purchase of land for fortifications.

A vague answer — in the Austrian style — that shall mean nothing.

11. Petition from the creditors of the Count Giannini that the delegated *Judicium* which had been granted at their request may be suspended.

The administration of justice in my dominions shall in no way be infringed upon, because the laws must govern all.

12. Report from the President von Auer, that in placing the flag-stones it would be more

I care nothing for the *Modum protcedendi,* so that the object be attained.

1751. profitable to deal by contract than by day-work.

13. Petition from the sickly son of the deceased Colonel von Platho, entreating some pension or provision.

Why, how can I provide for all the halt and the blind?

14. Complaint of the *Geheimer Rath* von Brandt, that several of the colonists whom he sent from Ulm, have returned much dissatisfied with their treatment.

He sent me people who had been actors and hair-dressers. Such persons are of no use in tilling land.

15. Petition from *Forstmeister* von Poser, that his son may not be forcibly carried off to the military profession.

He will be better educated in a regiment than in a village.

16. Petition from Countess Paradis, that her son, now in the Bavarian army, may receive a commission in the Prussian, with the view that the stricter discipline may wean him from his drunken habits.

I look out for good officers, but the debauched ones I send packing. Such people of whatever rank I think no acquisition to my service.

17. Petition from the merchant Hintze for permission to import 10,000 cwt. of copper, duty free.

Give him a round refusal.

18. Petition from the apprentice-mason Eichel for admission to the rights of master-mason at Berlin.

He may be admitted if there are not master-masons enough already, and if he be not as idle as the Berlin ones.

19. Petition from the Jew Meyer Benjamin at Magdeburg, for admission to equal privileges with Christian tradesmen.

Let the Jew immediately take himself away from Magdeburg, or the Commandant shall kick him out.

20. Petition from Lieutenant von Winterfeldt, for a loan of 12,000 dollars on good interest, for the improvement of his estate.

I am not a banker. 1751.

21. Petition from Du Moulin (lately Major in the army), for the place of the deceased *Krieges Rath* Tschirner at the Pomeranian chamber.

That would be appointing a goat for gardener!

22. Petition from General von Dierecke that his brother-in-law von Gravenitz, may have leave to marry the daughter of *Ober-Inspector* Glaser.

Fie! how can he propose such a thing?

23. Petition from *Geheimer Rath* von Brandt for the payment of his account — postage of letters amounting to 113 dollars.

I shall send him no money to help his writing. He already writes his fingers off. Let him write me what is really needful, and not so much useless stuff that gives me no information.

24. Petition from Cornet von Ortzen, that he may be permitted to visit the baths of Carlsbad for the recovery of his hearing.

Carlsbad can do nothing for one's ears.

25. Petition from Colonel von Lossow, that Major Haletius and the Captains of Hussars, Trenk and Saltzwedel, may have leave to marry.

After Hussars have taken wives, they are seldom worth a shot of powder. But if he (Colonel von Lossow) believes that those gentlemen would still do their duty well, I will give them leave.

26. Petition from the Pastor Pels at Bernau, for a yearly pension of 150 dollars, as he

The Apostles did not thirst after lucre. They have preached in vain; Herr Pels has no

1751. finds that he cannot subsist on his stipend of 186.

apostolic soul, and does not hold the things of this world as things of nought.

27. Petition from *Landrath* von Wobeser, for compensation on account of the burning of his house and other losses he suffered at the bombardment of Custrin.

At the day of Judgment every man will receive again whatever he has lost in this life.

28. Petition from the *Ober-Auditor* G. at Berlin, complaining of the appointment of *Ober-Auditor* Reinecke as *General-Auditor*, and stating his own claims as the senior of all the *Ober-Auditors*, and as having served the state for thirty years.

I have in my stable a parcel of old mules, who have served me a long while, but I have not yet found any of them apply to be made Superintendents of the Stable.

29. Petition from Captain von E——t, who had left the army, praying that he may be re-appointed to it; his marriage with a rich heiress, for the sake of which he retired, having now failed.

The army is not a public house where people may run in and out as they please. Since this man has once left the service, he can have no ambition, and I hate such officers.

30. Petition from the *Landwirth* Filegel at Gratz, that he may be permitted to buy for 20,000 dollars a nobleman's estate in Prussia.

We have enough of *Flegels* (bumpkins, a pun on the name) in Prussia already; such colonists are of no use. Besides, as he is not of noble blood himself, I cannot allow him to buy a nobleman's estate.

31. Petition from the Vicar General of the Dominicans at Neisse, that some of the brotherhood may have leave to give spiritual assistance to the garrison.

They may; but if they should lead any soldier to desert, the Vicar General must make up his mind to see them hanged.

32. Petition from Kanter, a bookseller at Königsberg, for the title of *Commerzien Rath*, Commercial Counsellor.	Bookseller — there is a truly honourable title!	1751.
33. Petition from Count von Reder to protect him against the award of law, in the possession of an estate.	He has no right to ask me for such violent measures. My duty is to uphold the laws, and not to infringe them.	
34. Petition from General Count Angelelli of Bologna, for a commission in the Prussian army.	Why, he was a general of the Pope's army — surely he would not consent to serve a heretic!	
35. Petition from Captain von Diebitsch, that he may be transferred to another regiment.	He does not know his own mind. He has been with the *Cadets* — then Quarter-Master — now another regiment! Wind, wind, wind!	
36. Report from the Cabinet Ministers, stating that on a recent conclusion of a treaty with a foreign Power, they had been offered a *Cadeau;* a thing they observe not unusual, but done in an unusual manner.	*Je consois toute La repugnance, Messieur, que Vous aurez à ressevoir cette reconnoisance; mais je supposse que Vous Vous ferez la duce viollance de L'accepter.**	
37. Project from Colonel von W., for obtaining, without any fresh burden on the people, a million and a half additional revenue.	He may keep those millions for himself.	
38. Petition from the academician Bitaubé, who is writing the History of Holland, for six months' leave of absence to travel in that country.	He can write his history here. Why need he run about for it?	

* Printed according to the original French spelling. The orthography of the German is much of the same kind.

1751.

39. Petition from the wine-merchant Kiehn at Berlin, for compensation on account of 82 hogsheads of wine, which the Russians carried off during their last invasion.

Why not compensation also for what he lost at the Deluge? His cellars were then no doubt under water.

40. Petition from *Geheimer Rath* La Motte, that his father-in-law, the late *Ordens Kanzler* von Münchow, may not have the decree against him published in the newspapers.

One must go through with such things. He who commits *des infamies*, though he were of Royal blood, must suffer the due punishment.

41. Petition from Herr von Marschall, that the sentence against him in the Court of Appeal may be mitigated.

The laws are supreme above all men, whether *Marshals* or not; and if this does not suit the gentleman, he may go out of the country as his brother has done.

EARL MARISCHAL TO PRINCE CHARLES STUART.

[Stuart Papers.]

Paris, May 18. 1754.

SIR,

I AM honoured with yours in which you bid me name any person for carrying of your letters, except Mr. Goring or Mr. Boson. It is what I shall never take upon me, that I may not expose you to the danger of trusting new folks. Mr. Goring is known for a man of honour. I must beg your pardon in what you say of his "abusing of your situation." Had it been as happy as he has ventured life to make it, he neither would nor should have thought himself under any obligation to suffer the usage he has met with in return to the truth and fidelity with which he has served you. The fidelity of both the persons

to whom you make exception is without dispute, by the plain proof of so long and so extraordinary concealment of your person. 1754.

My health and my heart are broke by age and crosses. I resolve to retire from the world and from all affairs. I never could be of use to you, but in so far as I was directed by some few honourable persons, deservedly respected by all who know them. The manner in which you received lately a message from them, full of zeal for your interest and affection for your person, has, I fear, put an end to that correspondence. And after your threatening to publish their names, from no other provocation than their representing to you what they judge for their true interest, and of which they are without doubt the best judges, can I expose any who may trust me with their confidence to such hazard? I appeal to your own conscience, and I may to the world—if I can. I here take leave of politics, praying God that he may open your eyes to your true interest, and give you as honest advisers and better received than those you had lately, and who are the only ones with whom I could serve you.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

PRINCE CHARLES (UNDER THE NAME OF JOHN DOUGLAS) TO EARL MARISCHAL.

[From a rough draught in the Stuart Papers.]

May, 1754.

You are the only friend that I know of, this side of the water. My misfortunes are so great that they render me really quite incapable of supporting the impertinences of low people. However, I am so much a countryman as to lay aside any personal piques, *pro re natâ;* but I do not think a prince can. He (the Prince), I am persuaded, will be able to show himself in his true light one day. My heart is broke enough without that you

1754. should finish it; your expressions are so strong without saying where. I am obliged here to let you see clear at least in one article. Any one whosoever that has told you I gave such a message to England as you mention, has told you a d—— lie. God forgive them! I would not do the least hurt to my greatest enemy were he in my power, much less to any one that professes to be mine.

For ever yours,

J. DOUGLAS.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Nov. 20. 1755.

MY DEAR LADY HESTER,

I CANNOT defer till to-morrow morning making a request to you, upon the success of which I have so entirely set my heart, that I flatter myself you will not refuse it me. I must entreat you to make use of all your interest with Mr. Pitt to give his brother Temple leave to become his debtor for a thousand pounds a year, till better times. Mr. Pitt will never have it in his power to confer so great an obligation upon, dear Lady Hester, his and

your most affectionate,

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Friday, Nov. 21. 1755.

I AM infinitely happy, my dear Lady Hester, in your having proved successful with Mr. Pitt in a matter in which my heart was so deeply interested; this proof of his kindness and friendship to me is the only remaining one that he could give me. I

receive it with all possible gratitude, and will call upon you and him very soon to tell you how unalterably I am, 1756.

your most affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

SIR C. HANBURY WILLIAMS TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

(Most secret.)

St. Petersburg, Friday, July 9. *N. S.* 1756.

MY LORD,

I MUST inform your Lordship of a very secret conference which I have had with the Great Duchess.* Her entire attachment to the King, the probability of her soon mounting this Throne, and the certainty of her acting perfectly right whenever she is Empress, make every word she says of consequence.

She is very uneasy about the reports of this Court's entering into measures with France, and of a French Ambassador's coming here. She offered me to do every thing I could suggest to prevent all this. I had already alarmed her about the arrival of a French Ambassador, and showed her that such a person's residence here might be very dangerous to her and the Great Duke. I said that she knew that her known confidence in the Great Chancellor had made the Schuwalows her secret enemies; that the Schuwalows in themselves had neither sense, courage, nor money enough to do any harm to her succession; but that the arrival of a French Ambassador might change that scene, and that when he found out what their Imperial Highnesses' way of thinking in politics was, he would spare neither pains nor money to do them all the harm in his power. I begged her to remember all Monsieur La Chetardie's intrigues here, and what followed upon them.

* Afterwards the Empress Catherine II.

1756. She thanked me ten times for these hints: she said she saw the danger, and that she would animate the Great Duke to do his utmost in this affair; that she could do a great deal more if she had money, for that here nothing was done without it; that she was forced to keep even the Empress's chambermaids in pay; that she had nobody to address herself to upon such an occasion; that her own family was poor; but that if the King would graciously and generously be pleased to lend her a sum of money, she would give his Majesty her note for it, and would repay it to him the moment she had it in her power so to do; and at the same time I might give her word of honour to the King, that every farthing of it should be applied to what she hoped was their common service; and she desired I would be answerable to his Majesty for her manner of thinking and acting.

I answered her that I had all the reason in the world to be convinced of her attachment to the King and his interests, and therefore would venture to propose her request to his Majesty. But I desired at the same time that she would name the sum. She said twenty thousand ducats effective, or ten thousand pounds sterling; and then desired that this her request might be known to as few people as possible.

His Majesty is now acquainted with the state of affairs at this Court, and it is in his Royal breast to decide upon this request. As for my part, nothing but a thorough conviction of the good use the Great Duchess may make of this money, could have induced me to mention it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

C. Hanbury Williams.

1757.

SIR C. H. WILLIAMS TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

St. Petersburg, March 22. *N. S.* 1757.

NOTWITHSTANDING every thing that has been said against me, I have reason to believe that I am in every respect rather well than ill in the Empress's good opinion, except the aversion that she has to every body she thinks in the Prussian interest; and I have within this last week received two messages from the favourite Schuwalow to assure me of his esteem, and to tell me that he looks upon it as a misfortune to him, that the present circumstances of affairs did not permit him to cultivate my friendship, and come so often to my house as he could wish to do. To this I may add, that I have the good will and support of the Great Duke and Duchess; but their power is but small.

The constant accusation of me to the Empress is, that I am in the King of Prussia's interest; to which some people have added, that her Imperial Majesty ought to look upon me more as a Prussian spy, than as an English Ambassador. Of late it has gone so far, that she has been advised not to let any of my couriers go any more through Riga; for that I was too well informed of all that passed here, and too well inclined to his Prussian Majesty, not to be able and willing to give him very good intelligence. The Minister of France, and, I am sorry to say, the Austrian Ambassador also, has endeavoured to do me many ill offices; and your Lordship may depend upon it, from various and good intelligence, that our enemies at this Court will do their utmost with the Empress to draw me into some difficulties, which may end in my being sent away from hence.

. . . . . .

Upon the whole, I submit myself entirely to his Majesty, and have no will but his. If it should be his Royal pleasure that I should remain here, I will in the most humble manner offer one piece of advice, which is, that I may be charged with as few orders as possible; for, at this time, I am convinced that to any thing I can have to ask here, I shall receive either a refusal or no answer at all.

1757.

MR. FOX TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE YOUNGER).

Burlington Street, May 13. 1757.

DEAR SIR,

I EITHER don't understand the line I have marked, or it says nothing particular — "Vassals airy"— where are vassals either of the Crown or of the Nobles?

I think you might work more into this very pretty plan, and I wish you would, what is there being so pretty. I can have no objection to your showing this. If the third and least party and "Lord Gawkee" had been a little worse treated, I should have liked it better. I would not have them *very* ill-treated neither. Adieu. You may have time for any addition you please to make, for by what I learn at the Emperor's country house *, Lien-Chi may answer Xoho's letter before the new Ministry will be formed.

Pray let me have a copy.

Yours ever,

H. Fox.

EARL STANHOPE TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

(*Extract.*)

Chevening, October 3. 1757. 6 P. M.

I THINK it my duty to inform you, that there having been this day a meeting of Deputy-Lieutenants for part of this county at Seven Oaks, for putting the Militia Act in execution, by proceeding to the enrolment of the men who were chosen by lot at a former meeting, the Deputy-Lieutenants there present, who were Sir Thomas Farnaby, Mr. Thomas Lambard, Mr. Petley, and myself, were interrupted by the intrusion of a considerable number of the lower sort of people, who seem to have been spirited up to obstruct the execution of the law for the establishment of a Militia, and whose chief reason, if such men can be said

* Kensington Palace.

to have any for their unwarrantable opposition, seemed to be the want of any provision for their pay, concerning which their demands appeared to run very high, some of them talking of half a crown, and others of eighteen pence a day. The Deputy-Lieutenants finding that without violent methods, which they were unwilling at first to use, they could not for the present go on with the business of the day, thought it most advisable to adjourn themselves to this day se'nnight, that, in the mean time, such precautions might be taken as to secure the unmolested performance of their duty. The mob, after the Deputy-Lieutenants had left the room, proceeded to the minister's (Mr. Curtis's) house, whose windows they broke, and afterwards to the Duke of Dorset's at Knole, to which they threatened mischief; but they were dispersed upon the seizing of some of the ringleaders by Captain Smith, who happened to be there, before the arrival of a party of dragoons, which had been ordered thither upon the first account of those violent proceedings. 1757.

MR. PITT TO EARL STANHOPE.

(*Extract.*)

October 3. 1757.

GIVE me leave to express the sense I have of the prudent step taken in adjourning the meeting, as no good is to be expected from a Militia forced upon the people, while under their present unhappy delusion. Some proper examples from among the ringleaders and incendiaries of these dangerous insurrections may be, when the ferment is somewhat subsided, necessary for the honour of Law and Magistracy, and not very difficult to come at. Persuasion and curing deluded minds by friendly conviction must do the rest at a more favourable opportunity, or the duration of this shattered country will, I fear, not be long.

1758.

MR. KEITH TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

St. Petersburg, March 30. *N.S.* 1758.

I BELIEVE I may venture to give your Lordship the following relation of the manner in which the Great Chancellor's * fall was brought about.

When the news came here of my being arrived at Warsaw, the French Ambassador went to the Vice-Chancellor, and after representing to him the necessity of losing no time, insisted that he and his friends should make their last push against Count Bestucheff immediately; declaring to him at the same time, that if he did not agree to his proposal, he would go directly to the Great Chancellor, and discover to him all that had passed, and join with him to break his (Woronzow's) neck; that the Vice-Chancellor, intimidated by this menace, entered into his proposal, and he and his party at Court set themselves to work, by private ways, to blacken M. Bestucheff's conduct to the Empress. To give the finishing stroke, the French Ambassador took the opportunity of a Court day to come up to the Empress, and after having kissed her hand, pretending to admire the stuff of her gown, whispered in her ear that there was a person at Court very dangerous, both to her Majesty's person and government, and that he thought himself obliged in duty to tell her that the Great Chancellor Bestucheff was the man.

This alarmed the Empress; and she having communicated the matter to her confidants, who had their cue before, it was agreed to put the Great Chancellor under arrest, which was done two days after. By this the power of the French party at this Court is established, and the French Ambassador has the Vice-Chancellor himself under the rod. Prince Trubetskoi, Marshal Bouterlin, and Count Alexander Schuwalow, are the persons appointed to inquire into the late Chancellor's conduct, but what discovery they may have made is not yet known. In the mean time, it is said, he bears his misfortunes with spirit, and defies

* Bestucheff.

his enemies to prove any thing of consequence against him; and it is the general opinion that nothing very severe will happen to him, either with respect to his person or fortune. 1758.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO EARL STANHOPE.

London, May 13. 1758.

My dear Lord,

I am so odd a fellow, that I have still some regard for my country, and some concern for my conscience. I cannot serve the one, and I would not hurt the other; and therefore, for its quiet and safety, give me leave to put it into your keeping, which I do by the bit of parchment here enclosed*, signed and sealed, and which your Lordship will be pleased to have filled up with your name. If I am not much mistaken, we agree entirely in opinion for the Habeas Corpus Bill now depending in the House of Lords; and I am confirmed in that opinion by a conversation I have lately had with a very able opposer of the Bill, in which I reduced him to this one argument, that the Bill was unnecessary. If only unnecessary, why not pass it *ex abundante*, to satisfy people's minds upon a subject of that importance? —But leave it in the breasts of the Judges, and they will do what is right. I am by no means sure of that; and my doubts upon that head are warranted by the State trials, in which there is hardly an instance of any person prosecuted by the Crown, whom the Judges have not very partially tried, and, if they could bring it about with the jury, condemned right or wrong. We have had ship-money Judges, dispensing Judges, but I have never read of any patriot Judges, except in the Old Testament; and those perhaps were only so, because at that time there was no King in Israel. There is certainly some prerogative trick in this conspiracy of the lawyers to throw out this Bill; for as no good reason is given for it, it may fairly be presumed that

* His proxy.

1758. the true one is a bad one. I am going next week to settle at Blackheath, in the quiet and obscurity that best become me now, where you and Lady Stanhope, when you have nothing better to do, will always find a very indifferent dinner, and a very faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LE ROI FREDERIC AU PRINCE HENRI DE PRUSSE.

[Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. i. p. 449.]

à Grüssau, ce 10 *Août,* 1758.

JE marche demain contre les Russes. Comme les évènemens de la guerre peuvent produire toute sorte d'accidens, et qu'il peut m'arriver facilement d'être tué, j'ai cru de mon devoir de vous mettre au fait de mes mesures, d'autant plus que vous étes le tuteur de notre neveu avec une autorité illimitée.

1. Si je suis tué, il faut sur le champ que toutes les armées prêtent le serment de fidélité à mon neveu.

2. Il faut continuer d'agir avec tant d'activité, que l'ennemi ne s'apercoive d'aucun changement dans le commandement.

3. Pour ce qui regarde les finances, je crois devoir vous informer que tous ces dérangemens qui viennent d'arriver en dernier lieu — surtout ceux que je prévois encore — m'ont obligé d'accepter les subsides Anglais, qui ne seront payables qu'au mois d'Octobre.

4. Pour la politique, il est certain si nous soutenons bien cette campagne, que l'ennemi las et fatigué et épuisé par la guerre sera le premier à désirer la paix ; mais si incontinent après ma mort l'on montre de l'impatience et un désir trop violent pour la paix, ce sera le moyen de l'avoir mauvaise, et d'être obligé de recevoir la loi de ceux que nous avons vaincus.

FEDERIC.

1758.

MR. E. HAY TO MR. PITT.

Lisbon, September 13. 1758.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that a postilion arrived here on the 31st of August with the melancholy news of the Queen of Spain's death. Their Most Faithful Majesties retired for eight days upon this occasion, and orders were issued out for the Court to put on mourning for four months, two of which to be deep mourning and two half-mourning. But unhappily the execution of this order has been interrupted by his Most Faithful Majesty's indisposition; it being the custom of this Court to put on gala when any of the Royal Family is blooded. When I went to Court to inquire after his Majesty's health, I was there informed, that the King on Sunday night, the 3d instant, passing through a gallery to go to the Queen's apartment, had the misfortune to fall and bruise his right arm. He has been blooded eight different times; and as his Majesty is a fat bulky man, to prevent any humour fixing there, his physicians have advised that he should not use this arm, but refrain from business for some time. Upon this occasion his Majesty, from the just confidence he places in his Royal Consort, and out of paternal care for the welfare of his subjects, that there should be no stop put to the course of public business, has, by decree of the 7th instant, encharged her Most Faithful Majesty with the government of these kingdoms during his present indisposition; and I am informed the Queen will give public audience to her subjects on Tuesday next the 19th instant. The foreign Ministers have not been publicly notified of the Queen's being appointed Regent.

(*The following paragraph in cipher.*)

The account I have given of the King of Portugal's indisposition is in the manner I was informed at the Court; the reality is this. His Majesty, Sunday night, 3d instant, going with a favourite servant* to visit a mistress, (upon which occasion

* His *valet-de-chambre*, Texeiro.

1759. there are two chaises, the King in one, the servant in the other following him; but unfortunately that night they were together,) three men on horseback in masks met them, let the foremost equipage pass, and attacked the last; one fired at the postilion, the other two at the chaise. The King is wounded in the right arm, and some say in his left side, but not dangerously. The servant is much hurt, the driver is mortally so. This blow is thought to have been designed against the man, not against the master. This has greatly alarmed the Court, where it is endeavoured to be hushed up, but it is talked of abroad more publicly than prudently. What a condition this unhappy nation would have been in, had the master fallen!

I have the honor to be, &c.

EDWARD HAY.

MR. PITT TO LORD STORMONT, BRITISH MINISTER AT WARSAW.

Whitehall, January 2. 1759.

MY LORD,

HIS Majesty judges that the conclusion of the campaign so prosperous to the King of Prussia, and which leaves the Court of Warsaw so little room to hope the recovery of Saxony, may probably afford no unfavourable moment for making impressions on that Court, already under the present weight of such severe distresses, and but too well founded to apprehend the continuation of increasing the insupportable calamities during a war wherein they are only victims to the passion and ambition of allies hitherto little able to defend them, and probably in the conclusion as little concerned for their real interests and advantages.

In this view I am commanded by his Majesty to signify his pleasure to your Lordship that you should, using all proper precaution not to commit the dignity of the King, sound the actual dispositions of the Court of Warsaw, with regard to an accommodation with the King of Prussia, if that Prince could

happily be brought to listen to such a negotiation; and in case your Lordship should find that there is any daylight for making an overture of this nature, you are to give that Court to understand that such is the King's regard for the House of Saxony, prompted by his Majesty's magnanimity and generous concern for the sufferings of the Royal and Electoral Family, that the King will not on this occasion remember where the corps of Saxon troops, commanded by the Count de Lusace, served this last campaign *; but listening alone to the dictates of humanity and goodness, will, at the desire of the King of Poland, be willing to interpose his friendly offices with the King of Prussia towards bringing about an accommodation between the Courts of Berlin and Saxony. 1759.

It is unnecessary to recommend to your Lordship the exertion of the utmost diligence and address in a commission of such delicacy and great importance, the success of which his Majesty has so much at heart, as affecting so essentially the common cause.

I am to inform your Lordship, in the utmost confidence, that the instructions I now send you are by the King's directions transmitted to Mr. Mitchell, in order that he may communicate the same to his Prussian Majesty.

I am, &c.

W. Pitt.

MR. PITT TO MR. KEITH, BRITISH MINISTER AT PETERSBURG.

(*Most secret.*)

Whitehall, January 2. 1759.

Sir,

The King having received a piece of intelligence from a good hand concerning the state and inclinations of the Russian troops, and containing also some very interesting lights with regard to the interior of the Court where you are, I am commanded by

* With the French army against the Hanoverian.

1759. his Majesty to transmit the same to you by this messenger for your more speedy information.

The intelligence in substance is as follows: — It first takes notice as a fact, that it is generally reported that the Russian troops serve with the greatest reluctance against the Prussians, declaring openly that they are only led to the slaughter; that this impression of terror, manifest among them the former year, has been probably increased since by the last defeat.

It next suggests a doubt, whether the House of Austria will be able to make payment of the subsidies due, and if not, intimates that it would not be quite impossible for his Majesty's Minister at the Court of Petersburg to lessen the great credit of Count Esterhazy there; that last year, when about the same time payments were retarded, there immediately appeared certain symptoms favourable to England. This intelligence farther points out that the second Master of the Ceremonies, Monsieur Alsufieff, who has been advanced by her Imperial Majesty to be Councillor of State of the Cabinet, being also admitted to have a voice in the Secret Conference, has already discovered great regards for the King of Prussia, having begun his fortune at the Court of Berlin as a Secretary of Legation to the Envoy of Russia. That it is much to be wished that his Majesty's Minister could gain this person, more especially as he has occasion, preferably to any other, to be often alone with the Empress, having exclusively the care of her *cassette*, and being the sole person who is charged with the care of prisoners of State, concerning whom the first servants of the Empress, and perhaps the Vice-Chancellor himself, have not any knowledge.

His Majesty judges the above informations and suggestions so material, and of such particular importance in the present critical conjuncture, that it is the King's pleasure that you should apply yourself with all diligence and address to improve the same, and employ all such most proper and effectual means as your own ability and knowledge of the Court where you are will not fail to suggest, and in particular, as a most essential step towards opening such a channel of favourable impressions on the mind of her Imperial Majesty, to use all imaginable means

to gain if possible the person above mentioned, who is represented to have such confidential access to the Empress, and to be already so favourably disposed towards the King of Prussia. As it would be superfluous to say any thing on this most interesting occasion, to quicken your known zeal for his Majesty's service, I will only add, for your satisfaction and encouragement in this important work, that strong symptoms of diffidence, weariness, and disgust of the present war, daily discover themselves, not only among the Allies of Vienna and Versailles, but also in those two Courts themselves, who may, in conclusion, justly bear the greatest share of the calamities of that war, which their passion and spirit of domination have brought upon so many countries: and the inclosed letter from Lord Stormont, which by the King's order I now transmit to you, will show you the reason there is to think that the Court of Warsaw must be far from being at ease. 1759.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

MR. KEITH TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

(*Most secret.*)

St. Petersburg, April 10. *N. S.* 1759.

MY LORD,

I GIVE your Lordship the trouble of this letter, to apprise you of some circumstances relative to Monsieur Alsufieff, the Cabinet Secretary, which I thought were not fit to be mentioned in any letter that was not both private and secret.

As soon as I had received Mr. Secretary Pitt's despatch by Dawson, the messenger, I laid myself out to find what might be the properest means of getting into the confidence of Monsieur Alsufieff, and of attaching him to his Majesty's interest, and I could think of none better than the taking up matters where Sir Charles Hanbury Williams had left them, and the putting any gratuity that I should offer to that gentleman upon the foot of

1759. continuing the pension which that Ambassador had promised him. To prepare the way for this, I did what I could to get into his friendship and a certain degree of familiarity with him, and when I thought I had in some measure succeeded in it, I told him one day at Court openly, that I wished he would dine with Baron Wolff, as I had something particular to say to him, and as I had some of his goods in my hands which I wanted to restore to him. He seemed surprised what I could have that belonged to him; but however very obligingly promised to come soon to the Baron's, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing me. This manner of his receiving the hint gave me good hopes of the affair; so I provided five hundred ducats in gold ready to be offered him at the first proper occasion, which, though he came several times to the Baron's, never presented itself, until Thursday last in the evening that he came upon a visit, and as there was no other company, the Baron gave me the opportunity of being alone with him for a moment, which I was resolved not to lose; so I took out the gold which I had in my pocket and offered it to him, saying it was what Sir Charles Williams had promised, and which I had his Majesty's orders to continue to pay regularly as it should fall due.

M. Alsufieff made some difficulty at first to accept it, assuring me at the same time that he needed no reward of that kind to attach him to the King's service; but I insisted and at last prevailed with him to take it; and desiring he would consider it only as an earnest of his Majesty's esteem for him; for that if there was any other mark of the King's favour that he wished for, I could and would undertake to procure it for him. I added that we did not pretend thereby to lay him under any obligation incompatible with his duty, as all we desired was, to see the old friendship and confidence restored between our two Courts, which had so happily subsisted, and which was equally for the interest of both; and that he would employ his credit to bring this about by endeavouring as soon as possible to remove the obstacles that had interrupted it, and still stood in the way.

He answered with great seeming sincerity that he should be glad of any opportunity of showing his respect for his Majesty,

and his regard for his service. As he had said this, somebody came into the room and broke off our discourse; so this was all I had time or durst venture to say in our first conversation, but I will lay hold of every opportunity of talking to him of our affairs, and endeavour thereby to find out how far he will go to serve us; and I would fain flatter myself, by the manner in which all this passed, that he really is very well disposed, and consequently may be of use in our future negotiations. 1759.

This is the first time I have ever disposed of any of the King's money, and I hope his Majesty will not disapprove of the use I have made of it upon this occasion.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ROBERT KEITH.

KING FREDERICK OF PRUSSIA, ON THE NIGHT OF HIS DEFEAT AT KUNERSDORF.

[1. Letter to Count Finkenstein. 2. Instructions to General Finck. The original of the former is in French, of the latter in German. They will be found in Preuss, Lebens-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 215.]

Au Comte de Finkenstein.

ce 12 *Août*, 1759.

J'AI attaqué ce matin à onze heures l'ennemi. Nous les avons poussé au cimetière des Juifs auprès de Francfort; toutes mes troupes ont donné et ont fait des prodiges, mais ce cimetière nous a fait perdre un prodigieux monde. Nos gens se sont mis en confusion; je les ai rallié trois fois; à la fin j'ai pensé être pris moi-même, et j'ai été obligé de céder le champ de bataille. Mon habit est criblé de coups; j'ai deux chevaux tués: mon malheur est de vivre encore; notre perte est très-considérable. D'une armée de 48,000 hommes je n'ai pas 3000 dans le moment que je parle; tout fuit, et je ne suis plus maître de mes gens. On fera bien à Berlin de penser à sa sureté. C'est un cruel revers; je n'y survivrai pas; les suites de l'affaire seront pires que l'affaire même. Je n'ai plus de ressources; et à ne point

1759. mentir, je crois tout perdu. Je ne survivrai point à la perte de ma patrie. Adieu pour jamais.

FEDERIC.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GENERAL FINCK.

[Translation.]

August 12. 1759.

GENERAL Finck will have a hard task. The unhappy army which I now give over to him, is no longer able to cope with the Russians. Haddick will hasten to Berlin, and perhaps Laudohn too. If General Finck follows these, the Russians will get at his back; if he remains on the Oder, he will have Haddick on that side. However, I think that if Laudohn should push for Berlin, he might be attacked and defeated on the way. Such a course, if it succeeds, would make a stand against our disasters, and would keep things in suspense. To gain time is to gain much in so desperate an extremity as ours. The news from Torgau and Dresden will be given to General Finck by my secretary Cöper. He should send reports of every thing to my brother, whom I name *Generalissimus* of the army.

To repair this disaster completely is impossible; but whatever my brother may command must be executed. Let the army swear allegiance to my nephew (as King).

This is the only advice I am able to give in such unhappy circumstances. If I had still any resources, I would have remained here.

FRIEDRICH.*

* The King's German letters are accurately signed *Friedrich*, according to the German name, but in French he always wrote himself *Féderic*. — See *antè*, p. 257.

1759.

LORD STORMONT TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

Warsaw, August 23. 1759.

YOUR Lordship will have received an authentic account of the battle of the 12th inst.*, long before this letter can reach you.

The accounts published by the King of Prussia's enemies are, as usual, extremely exaggerated, and the hopes they entertain, and the language they talk, too extravagant to repeat. Whatever advantage they may have gained, it has certainly cost them very dear; they themselves own the loss of thirteen thousand men: it is supposed to be much greater, and I am told there are private letters from General Fermor, in which he says that the slaughter at Zorndorf was nothing in comparison of this. The Austrians claim the whole honour of the battle, and there is already an appearance of jealousy between them and the Russians. It is said that General Soltikow will be made a Prince of the Empire, which will probably be a great mortification to Marshal Daun, as he was much hurt at that dignity being conferred on the Duc de Broglie. It is pretended here that France sees these repeated successes of the Russians with a jealous eye; and it was observed that when the news of the late battle came, the French Minister could not so much as put on the appearance of joy.

LORD STORMONT TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

Warsaw, August 30. 1759.

WE have no news of importance from either the Russian or Austrian army. The King of Prussia's enemies here complain much of the slowness of Marshal Daun's operations. It is said that the Russians make the same complaints, and begin to see through the usual policy of the House of Austria, which sets at nothing the blood spilt in her cause, provided she can contrive

* The battle of Kunersdorf.

1759. to save her own troops at the expense of those of her allies. It is even pretended that General Soltikow has declared that he will not let the army under his command be made a sacrifice to this policy, and that after all the Russians have done it behoves those who are principals in the war to strike the next blow.

EARL STANHOPE TO MR. PITT.

Chevening. 1759.

Sir,

At this critical conjuncture, which so loudly calls for the united zeal of all his Majesty's subjects in the defence of his kingdoms, a thought has occurred to me, which, as it tends (at least in my intention) to that salutary end, I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration.

Observing in the public papers that the nobility and gentry of France are sending in their plate to the Mint for the service of the Government, I imagine that a voluntary proceeding of the like kind in this country might have a great effect in strengthening his Majesty's hands toward a conclusion of this war, in as glorious a manner as it has hitherto proceeded in. If you, Sir, to whom Great Britain owes so much of the success with which Providence has blessed our arms both by sea and land, shall happen to be of the same opinion, and if you think that the example of one so inconsiderable as myself can be attended with any beneficial consequences to the public, I beg leave with all humility to assure his Majesty by your means, that in case the public exigencies shall be thought to require it, he may at any time during the continuance of this war, command four thousand ounces of my silver plate to be sent to the Mint for his service, on no harder terms, than either restoring the plate itself (if not coined), or paying one thousand pounds sterling in lieu thereof (if it shall be coined) within a year after the signing of a peace with France. But if, on the contrary, you judge that no advantage can accrue to his Majesty's service

from this proposal, I must desire it may be known to no other but yourself, as what I presume to offer is designed for use only, and not for ostentation. 1759.

I have the honour to be, with those real sentiments of respect which your public services demand,

Sir, &c.

STANHOPE.

MR. PITT TO MR. E. HAY, BRITISH MINISTER AT LISBON.

(*Most secret.*)

Whitehall, September 12. 1759.

SIR,

I SHALL not at present take notice of the matter of your several letters, nor enter into any points of business, however important, now depending between the two Courts; but shall confine myself to a recent event, which, most happy as it is for England in all other respects, yet from strong surmises of certain unfortunate circumstances attending the same, leaves his Majesty under great and real anxiety until more authentic information shall verify the real state of facts.

You must doubtless long since have been perfectly informed as to the surmise I allude to, and which it is almost superfluous to name; viz. whether the coasts of Portugal were sufficiently respected by the Commanders of his Majesty's ships in the late action near Lagos, and whether the Ocean and the Redoubtable were not destroyed in violation of the territorial jurisdiction of his Most Faithful Majesty. It is the King's pleasure that you should lose no time in transmitting, for his Majesty's information, a most faithful and exact account of this very interesting transaction, and in case you shall find that any violence has actually been committed by his Majesty's ships against the immunities of the coasts of Portugal, it is the King's pleasure that you should express in the strongest terms to the Count de Oeyras *,

* Afterwards the Marquis of Pombal.

1759. and to the other ministers, the extreme pain which such a most unfortunate incident must give to the King as soon as the certain knowledge of it shall reach his Majesty: and that you are ordered to lose no time in transmitting to England an exact account thereof. You will further assure the Count de Oeyras, and the other ministers, that his Majesty can never cease to give the King of Portugal the most sincere and real proofs of cordial friendship in his power, and that, above all, such is the sensibility of the King for whatever may interest the honour and dignity of his Most Faithful Majesty, that the King, with the spirit of a constant and affectionate ally, would wish even to go before any possible complaints of this kind, which could be founded, on the part of the Court of Lisbon.

At the same time, in case there has actually been a violation of territory on our part, you will take care to avail yourself of all the circumstances of extenuation, of a nature to soften the impressions which the first sense of any insult on that coast may have made. But you will be particularly attentive not to employ any favourable circumstances to justify what the law of nations condemns, but you will insensibly throw the same into your conversation with insinuation and address, as considerations of alleviation, which it is to be hoped may prevent all asperity between two Courts so mutually well disposed to each other, and whose interests are so inseparable. Some of these circumstances of alleviation which you will endeavour to place in their best light are as follows:—First, that it is most evident there could be no intention of insult, as the action had begun at so very great a distance from the coasts of Portugal; next, that if in the prosecution of an action so begun, the ardour of combat should unfortunately have carried an officer nearer to a friend's shore than he would have gone if a cooler view could in such moments have better enabled him more duly to consider distances, such a warmth in any case might perhaps carry some degree of excuse, though not of strict justification, along with it; but that with regard to the present case in question, it cannot but be considered that circumstances most peculiarly affecting combined here to animate to the utmost the zeal and ardour of the com-

manders of his Majesty's ships; for they had on this occasion before their eyes not only a French squadron appointed for ordinary naval operations, but one destined, could they have escaped destruction from his Majesty's navy, to carry under their protection invasion against his Majesty's dominions, and to attempt to spread war and desolation in the heart of his Majesty's kingdoms. 1759.

The King will wait with great impatience to receive an account from you, upon a matter that interests the King's mind so nearly; his Majesty having nothing more really at heart than to give (as far as he can with honour) to the King of Portugal all reasonable satisfaction, that one power in amity can desire from another, upon an incident so totally unforeseen and without intention of offence.

I am, &c.,

W. Pitt.

P. S. Though it be sufficiently implied by the above words, *all reasonable satisfaction, as far as his Majesty can with honour*, that there are things which his Majesty could not possibly on any account comply with, I have thought it may not be improper, for your more certain guidance, expressly to signify to you, that any personal mark on a great Admiral who has done so essential a service to his country, or on any one under his command, is totally inadmissible, as well as the idea of restoring the ships of war taken. You will therefore, in case in your conversation with the Portuguese ministers, any suggestion pointing to either of those methods of satisfaction should be thrown out, take especial care to say enough to shut the door entirely against any expectation of that kind; being at the same time particularly attentive to avoid, in the manner, every thing that can carry the air of peremptoriness or harshness which may interest the delicacy of the King of Portugal. I am further to give you to understand, for your private information, that if the circumstances of the supposed grievance should come out to be of sufficient magnitude, such is the King's strong desire to give the most public and ostensible satisfaction to the King of

1760. Portugal, that his Majesty will not, I believe, even be averse to sending an extraordinary mission on this occasion.

W. P.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF KINNOUL, BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT LISBON.

(*Most secret.*)

Whitehall, May 30. 1760.

My Lord,

Your Excellency's despatches of the 14th and 16th past were immediately laid before the King.

A severe attack of the gout, with which I have been confined to my bed ever since, and of which I am still ill, having, to my extreme regret, disabled me from executing his Majesty's commands on matters so highly interesting and of such peculiar moment as those contained in the most secret and very confidential communications which the Conde d'Oeyras made to your Excellency, I am now to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you should first explain to that minister the cause of this very anxious delay, in conveying to his Most Faithful Majesty at a moment so critical, the King's immutable and affectionate concern for the dignity and independency of the Crown of Portugal, for the safety and stability of its government, and for the prosperity and security of the Portuguese nation.

Your Excellency will then express that it is a most sensible consolation to his Majesty, to consider that the unprosperous state of the affairs of France affords at present the justest grounds to believe, that however unfriendly her dispositions towards Portugal may be, Providence will not put into the hands of that haughty but impotent Court the means of carrying such malignant designs into effect. That the King learns with particular satisfaction "the good understanding," which the Conde d'Oeyras observed to your Excellency, "to be actually subsisting "between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, and that the nego- "tiations concerning the execution of the Treaty of Limits were

" carried on in the most amicable manner, by means of the in- 1760.
" timate alliance and near connection of the two Royal Families."
Nor indeed can the equity and wisdom of the Spanish Councils leave room to suppose that the Court of Madrid would adopt from France such dangerous suggestions of injustice and oppression; or that Spain, at the instigation of a Power actuated by despair, would wantonly stain the beginnings of a reign with designs of most flagrant and odious violence, and by rashly embarking in new and vast projects (of which she would never be likely to see a successful end), commit to the hazard of precarious events, her important and favourite possessions in Italy, not yet sufficiently secured against the probable and obvious views of Austrian ambition. That the King highly applauds the dignity and propriety of the language which his Most Faithful Majesty has thought fit to hold to the Court of Versailles, in consequence of the French Ambassador's insolent and factious deportment, and of the very offensive conversation of the Duc de Choiseul. And at the same time his Majesty is of opinion that such a conjuncture calls on the Royal wisdom and vigilance of the King of Portugal to be prepared, as far as may be, for all emergencies, by immediately putting his troops into the best condition for action, and exerting his utmost efforts to arm as many ships of war as the present state of his marine can by any possible means enable him to do.

In answer to the friendly and confidential desire of the King of Portugal, it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Excellency should, in the most express terms, assure the Conde d'Oeyras that in case things should come to an extremity between the Courts of Lisbon and France, his Most Faithful Majesty may depend on the King's vigorous and effectual support. That his Majesty, animated with the warmest sentiments of friendship and affection for the King of Portugal, would have taken particular satisfaction in explaining himself on this occasion with the precision desired, namely, *jusqu'ou ces secours pourront s'entendre*, did the various and extensive operations of the ensuing campaign render it practicable for his Majesty to ascertain at present a matter which must to a considerable degree

1760. necessarily depend on events. That, however, his Most Faithful Majesty may rest fully assured that the King will ever consider the defence of the kingdom and dominions of Portugal, the ancient and natural ally of England, as an object dear and interesting to the honour and welfare of his Crown and people, next in degree to the very preservation of the British dominions themselves.

Your Excellency will be particularly attentive to prevent any impression taking place in the mind of the Conde d'Oeyras that from the generality of the above expressions there is the least desire to elude a more specific answer. And to illustrate this, you will easily make the Conde sensible, that were Ireland, for instance, now threatened with an attack, it would be hardly possible in the present moment to ascertain with precision the extent of succours that could be immediately sent to that kingdom.

I come now to the very unexpected demand of restitution of the two French ships taken near Lagos; which, notwithstanding the friendly and confidential declaration on the part of the Conde d'Oeyras, "that a compliance therewith was not expected," cannot but be attended with considerable difficulty and inconvenience. For as the answer desired is meant to be ostensible, it is to be apprehended that in whatever way the same be formed, an invidious use will not fail to be made of it by our enemies, and perhaps by neutral powers. The totally declining discussion, your Excellency will perceive, is liable to the charge of peremptoriness; and the going far into one would not only be directly counteracting the declared purpose of your Excellency's mission, which was expressly to avoid all discussion, but would open an ample and litigious field for every hireling and ill-intentioned pen all over Europe to inveigh against the naval pretensions of England, already too much the common object of envy and calumny.

In this dilemma it is judged most advisable that your Excellency should carefully forbear entering into much controversial reasoning on the matter, and content yourself with only touching lightly this single fundamental fact, namely, that it highly deserves consideration, that the engagement which begun at a

distance, and which, accidentally leading so near Lagos, ended in the destroying and taking the French ships, may on the principles of the law of nations be maintained as one continued action. To this your Excellency will add, that nevertheless the King (notwithstanding whatever doubts might arise in the case), in order to prevent any disagreeable discussion with the Crown of Portugal, and from motives of particular consideration and signal affection for his Most Faithful Majesty, had already given the highest testimony of the sincerity and extent of his Majesty's friendship for the King of Portugal, and of sensibility for the honour and lustre of his Crown. The King, therefore, persuades himself, on the justest grounds, that after such a full and public mark of his regard, his good brother and ally the King of Portugal will never think his Majesty wanting either in justice or attention towards the Crown of Portugal. 1760.

It is the King's pleasure that your Excellency should accompany this answer with all possible gentleness and cordiality of manner, and with the most conciliating and amicable expressions.

The present state of my health obliges me to defer, to another opportunity, writing to your Excellency on the very important subjects of our commercial affairs with Portugal, and particularly on the matter of the several exclusive Companies for carrying on the trade to the Portuguese settlements, mentioned in your separate letter of the 14th past: for a due understanding of the nature and limitations whereof, I must necessarily desire your Excellency to send me more ample and circumstantial lights and informations.

I am, &c.,

W. Pitt.

1761.

LORD STORMONT TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESS.

Warsaw, January 24. 1761.

THE constant oppressions this country suffers from the Russians, the apprehensions of still greater misfortunes from the growing power of Russia and her ambitious views, which seem to extend every day, the innumerable causes of complaint that M. Brühl has given, and many other reasons, all conspire to make the King of Prussia's cause so extremely popular here at present, that, except a few persons connected with the Court, there is scarce a man of any rank or party, that does not wish him success, and that does not consider the fate and fortune of this country as linked to his; and however difficult it may be to put a body in motion where every spring is broken, yet I am convinced that it would be no hard matter for his Prussian Majesty (if he should think the object of importance), to avail himself of this spirit, and to concert measures so as to have confederations or risings in his favour in the beginning of the spring; provided he could engage to support them with an army of five and twenty or thirty thousand men; for without such a support the attempt would be vain, and could only end in the ruin of those that made it.

CONSUL GOLDWORTHY TO MR. PITT.

Port St. Mary's, February 20. 1761

SIR,

I HAVE just learnt a piece of intelligence, which I have for some time been endeavouring to find out, and as the person who told it me may, I believe, be depended on, I think, Sir, I cannot give you too early advice of it.

He tells me that the great preparations making throughout this kingdom, are doing with a design to take the town and garrison of Gibraltar, if possible, by surprise, and that all the

ships of war, great and small, are getting ready at the Carraca with the utmost expedition; for which reason they are working there day and night, Sundays and holidays not excepted. A camp for twenty thousand men near St. Roque is already pointed out, and the captain-general of this province, Don Juan de Villalba, under pretence of seeing the troops learn the Prussian exercise, is to have the command of them. 1761.

All sorts of warlike stores are depositing at Ceuta and other adjacent places to Gibraltar, and six hundred beds were sent last week from Cadiz to Algeciras. The troops that are to come from Barcelona will arrive in small detachments to avoid suspicion, and for the same reason every thing will be carried on with the greatest precaution.

MR. H. STANLEY TO MR. PITT.

Paris, June 12. 1761.

THE Duke (de Choiseul) inveighed in strong terms against the obstinacy of the Empress Queen's temper, to demonstrate which he related the following story:—"While I was Ambas-"sador at Vienna, the siege of Olmütz was formed; just before "one of my audiences, a courier arrived to acquaint Her Majesty "that the place was hard pushed. This news she imparted to me. "I told her that affairs seemed to go very indifferently, and ad-"vised her to consult some of her generals about repairing the "fortifications of her capital, not then in good order. She an-"swered that she would defend them to the utmost, and then "retire from town to town, till she came to the last village in "Hungary; to which she added, turning to me, 'Sir, would you "'follow me there?'—'My personal service,' I replied, 'should "'attend your Majesty to the utmost, but I cannot answer that "'the King my master would go quite so far with you. How "'would your Majesty act when you were driven to that extre-"'mity?'—'I would,' she said, 'send the King of Prussia a "'challenge to meet me in a post-chaise, with musket, powder,

1761. " 'and ball: thus would we decide the quarrel in person.'—She " would have kept her word," added the Duke, " yet I have per- " suaded her to give up Regal Prussia upon the future treaty."

MR. H. STANLEY TO MR. PITT.

Paris, June 28. 1761.

THE Duke de Choiseul informed me of the awe with which M. de Bussy was struck by you, and said he was not surprised at it, *car le pauvre diable tremblait de peur en partant.* He was so much frightened that he wrote for a passport to return; the Duke showed me this request in his own hand. Most of the despatch wherein it was contained was in cipher; the Duke was at Marly with the King when he received it, and his secretary was absent, therefore he could not read the remainder. His reflection upon it was, *Apparemment, Sire, qu'il a déplu à Monsieur Pitt; qui l'aura fait sauter par les fenêtres!*

MR. H. STANLEY TO MR. PITT.

Paris, August 26. 1761.

YOU will allow me, Sir, with exultation to feel and applaud the truly British spirit that reigns throughout your State papers. It would be very indecent in me to presume to offer you my advice, but it is my duty to convey to you information of the impressions which every step carries with it in this country. The French are to be treated with great firmness and dignity; but now that his Majesty's honour has been so nobly asserted, and that these most improper intrusions into his affairs are so fully repelled, I submit it to you whether it may not be expedient to soften that asperity, which might before be necessary. My reason for this intimation is, that I know that the King of

France has been grieved, not to say personally offended, at some particular expressions, and has said with great warmth, "that he "was ready to resign provinces for the peace, but that he would "not be deprived of his honour and of the character of a man of "truth and probity." I beg leave to remind you that the main spring from whence a desirable conclusion can be expected is his Majesty's private disposition and temper of mind: this particular circumstance may in some instances, perhaps, make it more prudent to defer general reflections upon the morality and punctilio of transactions, till the issue is seen. 1762.

LE ROI FREDERIC DE PRUSSE AU BARON PÖLNITZ.

[Urkundenbuch, vol. ii. p. 138.]

à Betlern, ce 20 *Juin,* 1762.

Je me suis cru grand et puissant Seigneur, M. le Baron, depuis que vous m'avez honoré de votre lettre. Je m'y vois traité de Monarque d'importance: vous me demandez des graces comme si je pouvais en dispenser; vous avez oublié apparemment que nous allons entrer dans la septième année que les Puissances de l'Europe se plaisent à jouer avec moi au Roi depouillé. Je vous jure que je ne sais plus si j'ai un pays ou si je n'en ai point, ni ce que la voracité de mes ennemis se plaira de me laisser. Ce que je puis vous assurer, c'est que dans peu nous nous battrons comme des beaux diables pour savoir qui gardera ce pauvre et miserable coin de terre que la guerre a presque entièrement ruiné. Quand j'aurai un pays, M. le Baron, et que vous le saurez, vous pourrez vous adresser en toute liberté à moi pour le soulagement de votre vieillesse; mais à present vous, et s'il en a de plus adroit dans le métier d'escroqueur, je vous défie tous ensemble, de vous refaire sur moi et sur tout ce qui dépend actuellement de moi. Une Eglise de Jesuites ne serait pas si mauvaise. Il y a à Prague certain tombeau de St. Népomuc, très capable de tenter votre piété; je ne dis pas pour l'argent dont il est fait mais pour les reliques qu'il contient.

1762. Il y a de plus un joli petit enfant d'or tout massif, voué et donné par l'Impératrice Reine..... Pensez y bien, Baron; ceci mérite des profondes reflexions; un enfant tout d'or! Que d'habits! que de meubles! que de repas il pourrait vous donner! Que de dettes il pourrait acquitter! que de créanciers il appaiserait! Le bel enfant, d'or, Baron, vous rajeunirait; il me semblerait vous voir, le possédant, le visage sans ride, la demarche gaillarde, le dos droit comme une asperge, et l'imagination pétillante comme du vin de Champagne. C'est ce que je vous souhaite, ne pouvant que souhaiter. Au reste, je prie le Seigneur Dieu, Monsieur le Baron, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

FEDERIC.

MR. KEITH TO MR. SECRETARY GRENVILLE.

St. Petersburg, July 12. *N.S.* 1762.

LAST Friday morning about nine o'clock (as I was preparing to go to Peterhoff to meet the Emperor) one of my servants came running into my room with a frighted countenance, and told me that there was a great uproar at the other end of the town; that the guards, having mutinied, were assembled, and talked of nothing less than dethroning the Emperor. He could tell me no circumstances, and could give me no answer to the only question I asked, namely, if the Empress was in town; but about a quarter of an hour afterwards one of the gentlemen of our factory came in and informed me that the Empress was in town, that she had been by the guards and the other troops of the garrison declared their Empress and Sovereign, and that she was then actually at the Casansky Church to hear the *Te Deum* sung upon the occasion. He added the circumstance of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp's being made prisoner as he was endeavouring to make his escape out of the town. This account was confirmed from all quarters; and we understood that the several supreme colleges of the empire and all the great people were then taking the oaths of fidelity to the new Empress, as the guards and other regiments had already done.

This surprising revolution was brought about and completed in little more than two hours, without one drop of blood being spilt or any act of violence committed, and all the quarters of this city at any distance from the Palace, especially the street where I and most part of his Majesty's subjects reside, were as quiet as if nothing had happened; the only novelty to be seen were some *picquets* placed at the bridges, and some of the horse-guards patrolling through the streets in order to preserve the public tranquillity. 1762.

As soon as the guards assembled in the morning several detachments were sent to the Peterhoff road to hinder any intelligence from being sent to the Emperor, and this piece of duty was performed with so much diligence and exactness, that no one person got through except the Master of the Horse, Monsieur Nariskin.

About ten o'clock in the evening the Empress marched out of town on horseback at the head of twelve or fourteen thousand men, and a great train of artillery, and took the road towards Peterhoff, in order to attack the Emperor at that place or Oranienbaum, or wherever they should meet him; and next day in the afternoon we received the account of his Imperial Majesty's having surrendered his person, and resigned his Crown, without one stroke being struck.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, September 13. 1762.

I HAVE seen the Duke de Choiseul since supper (for the first time), and have had an opportunity, in a conversation of about half an hour, to enter a little into the difficulties they have drawn themselves into with the Court of Spain, with regard to the navigation into the gulph of Mexico, which they have offered to grant us. He protests that they will do every thing possible to quiet M. Grimaldi, who upon the bare report of this had already *monté sur ses grands chevaux*. He most firmly engages,

1762. and that with the utmost frankness, that they have no desire to depart from the most minute particular of the offers they have already made to us, and that they only desire us to assist so far as is consistent with our interests, by reciprocal assurances, as to prevent M. Grimaldi from abruptly breaking off the negotiation. And he protests the only difficulty he perceives in doing it arises from M. Grimaldi himself, the King of Spain having left *carte blanche* to his cousin the Most Christian King to settle every thing as he shall think proper.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Paris, September 19. 1762.

Upon the whole, if I can judge at all by the behaviour and language of the Duke de Choiseul, by the little I have as yet seen of the women he converses with, particularly his sister the Duchess of Grammont, by Madame Pompadour, with whom I have more than once conversed, and by the accounts of the Sardinian ambassador, who is perfectly well acquainted with this Court, I can venture to assure your Lordship that the Duke de Choiseul most heartily wishes the conclusion of the peace, which indeed is most material to him in every point of view.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Fontainebleau, October 11. 1762.

I have just seen these ministers, and I find them in the happiest dispositions to conclude, and in an extreme impatience to know what shall have been determined at London in relation to any compensation to be given by Spain for the Havanna. They assure me that in case the King will be contented with every thing being left in the Bay of Honduras on its present footing, without any cession being made by Spain as a compensation for

the Havanna, they shall be able to bring M. Grimaldi to sign . . . . But they add that, should the King be pleased to order me to insist on Spain's ceding ever so small a parcel of territory in compensation for the Havanna, they foresee not only great difficulties in bringing the Court of Spain ever to consent to it, but the certainty of delaying the signature of the preliminaries to a length of time, as M. Grimaldi, was he ever so well intentioned, could not take upon himself to give up any part of the King his master's territories, unless by special orders from his Court. 1762.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Whitehall, October 26. 1762.

It is the King's pleasure that you do peremptorily insist upon one of the two cessions proposed in the 19th Article*, as it is of indispensable necessity that a proper compensation should be obtained for the important restitution of the Havanna. The manifest inferiority in value of either of the two, compared with the conquest which is to be given up, will afford your Grace irresistible arguments upon this occasion.

* Article 19. du Projet de Traité.—En conséquence de la restitution de l'importante Isle de Cuba, sa Majesté Catholique cède et garantit en toute propriété à sa Majesté Brittanique :

Q. L'isle de Porto Rico.

Q. Tout ce que l'Espagne possède sur le continent de l'Amérique Septentrionale à l'Est ou au Sud-est du fleuve Mississippi.

1762.

EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(*Apart.*)

Whitehall, October 26. 1762.

My Lord,

Having by the King's command had an interview with the Chairman and deputy-Chairman of the East India Company, in order to gather from them the proper lights for settling what is relative to the interests of the Company in India, and particularly in Bengal, I have with some difficulty brought these gentlemen to admit, that the article in the *Contre-Projet* would be satisfactory to them. And I have it in command from his Majesty to observe to your Grace, in this letter *apart*, that the conditions upon which the French are restored to the Ganges, namely, that of having no fortifications or troops there, appear very moderate.

I am, &c.

Egremont.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Fontainebleau, November 3. 1762.

I have the satisfaction to send your Lordship, by Monnot, the inclosed preliminary articles, which I signed this morning with the Ministers Plenipotentiary of France and Spain. I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to keep within the limits of my instructions, and have in no point deviated from them but where I found it absolutely necessary.... The 18th Article, ceding the island of Cuba and the Havanna, is only altered by the addition of these words, *tout ce qu'il a conquis dans,* before the words *l'Isle de Cuba.* In the 19th Article, in which the Crown of Spain makes the cession of Florida to His Majesty, there is a small verbal alteration consequential to the former one;

and at the end of it there is the same provision for the toleration of the Romish religion, and the liberty of emigration to the subjects of Spain, as had been allowed in a former article to the Canadians. 1769.

EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS STANHOPE.

(The following letter, though altogether unconnected with public affairs, is here inserted as a portrait of Lord Chatham in private life; as a proof that his eagerness for rural improvements was a strong and real, and not, as was sometimes alleged, a pretended, passion. Perhaps, also, in publishing this letter, I may be somewhat swayed by the—I hope, pardonable—pride of seeing my paternal seat connected with so great a name. I should add that the road as planned by Lord Chatham was executed and still exists.

M.)

(*Extract.*)

Chevening, October 18. 1769.

THE date of this letter fully shows how largely we have been desirous to construe the obliging and kind offer of our respected friends at Geneva, and that we use the powers, which the Lord and Lady of this delightful abode have so bounteously given us, to the utmost extent of our commission. Next week will, I imagine, fix us at Hayes, if the gout, which has begun to give some gentle remembrances, should not interpose. Now that we have the pleasure to be still at Chevening, allow me, dear Madam, to enjoy it the most sensible way, in the absence of our friends, which is, by talking to them of it..... At present, give me leave to be a little notable and to talk of purchasing farms, instead of wasting them in the thing called Taste. I cannot help, then, presuming to offer my advice, not to hesitate a moment in giving full powers to Mr. Peel to conclude with Mr. Winter, if he will sell, be the price almost what it may. I can venture to assure you, that the acquisition will add to the general value of

Chevening, as the seat of your family, more than what it costs.... I have the pleasure to confirm, what your Ladyship has heard, that a way is found through the valley by the park-farm, which will gain the ascent so imperceptibly, that all the hill, in effect, vanishes; this road would, I dare say, be made perfectly good for coaches for thirty pounds. I have examined very attentively the course it should run, and I will venture to pronounce, that the approach from the London side to Chevening, from the point where you would leave the Sundridge road, is (at the same time that the descent is so soft, one may trot up and down) the most beautiful approach to any place in England. Mr. Brampton, who is very intelligent and an excellent servant, will have given your Ladyship some particulars relating to this matter. I confess, I cannot help warmly recommending the immediate execution of this essential work; if I can be of any use, in conjunction with Mr. Brampton, I shall think myself honoured, if you will appoint me joint overseer of the way; almost the only office an old cripple is fit for. I carry my ambition to be remembered at Chevening so far, that I wish it may be said hereafter, if ever this plan for the road should go into execution, He, the overseer, who made this way, did not make the peace of Paris!

I am, ever, &c.

CHATHAM.

NOTE ON JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

IN the spring of 1843, I had the honour to receive two letters from the present Duke of Bedford, complaining, though in terms of the most perfect courtesy and even personal kindness, that a passage of my history, which describes the character of the fourth Duke, and his change of office in 1748, had, for want of the information which the first volume of his published correspondence had since supplied, been unjust to his memory. In the preface to the second volume of that correspondence, published in July, 1843, Lord John Russell has in like manner

controverted my statement, also in a tone, as I am glad thus publicly to acknowledge, of much candour and moderation.

It would in any case have been my duty, on the appearance of these further documents, to review with care my former impressions on the fourth Duke of Bedford, and to confess with frankness any errors of which I might become aware.

The passage complained of is the following (Vol. III. p. 512. 2d edition): —

"It was Newcastle's desire that the vacant post (of Secretary "of State) might be filled by Lord Sandwich, but a superior "cabal in the Cabinet bestowed it upon the Duke of Bedford, "a cold-hearted, hot-headed man, more distinguished by rank "and fortune than by either talent or virtue. Sandwich, how-"ever, succeeded Bedford as head of the Admiralty, and was "likewise despatched as plenipotentiary to Aix-la-Chapelle."

On this passage Lord John Russell raises two questions: — First, as to the nature of the official changes in 1748. Secondly, as to the general character that I have drawn of his ancestor.

1. My statement rested mainly on what appeared to me very strong authority — a letter from a statesman in high office to a confidential friend, and written, moreover, at the very time of the event. This letter is from Mr. Fox, then Secretary at War and afterwards the first Lord Holland, to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, then British Minister at Dresden; it is dated February 17. 1748, O. S., and will be found at length in "Coxe's Pelham Administration" (vol. i. p. 389.). "The Duke of Graf-"ton," says Mr. Fox, "the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Pelham, "and all who either disliked Lord Sandwich, or had declared a "contrary opinion to his, though they did not openly give him the "exclusion, yet virtually obstructed his promotion, to which his "Majesty was by no means inclined; rather, I should say, very "averse. Lord Sandwich was the man the Duke (of Cumberland) "and his Grace of Newcastle intended. You know how it has "ended."

This, in other words, is precisely the same statement as mine.

The Bedford letters do not disprove this statement, but add to it some further particulars and a different colouring. They

show that the Duke was never personally the rival, but rather the patron, of Lord Sandwich; that he was satisfied with his post at the Board of Admiralty, and that he preferred his friend's promotion to his own. Bedford writes to Sandwich (February 12. 1748), "Nothing could have prevailed upon me to have "accepted of this employment, had I not found it at present im- "practicable for your being appointed to it." And Sandwich replies (March 5.), "I am sure no one before me ever met with "such a friend as I have in you!"

My narrative, however, as it stands, neither implies, nor was intended to imply, any blame on the Duke of Bedford for his share in this transaction. Whether as the rival or the patron of Lord Sandwich, he had a perfectly good right to accept the Seals, if the majority of the Cabinet wished it, and if he approved of them.

2. As to the Duke of Bedford's general character, I acknowledge that the perusal of his letters, as also of his diary (published at the close of the first volume of the Cavendish Debates in 1841), has materially altered my impressions, and that I should no longer apply to him the word "cold-hearted." He appears, on the contrary, throughout his correspondence, and the private entries of his journal (whatever aspect he might bear to the world at large), affectionate and warm-hearted to his family and his friends. Whether those friends were in general wisely chosen—whether they were in many cases other than flatterers and boon companions, is another question; a question which Lord John Russell himself, in the preface to his second volume, seems disposed to answer in the negative.

M.

January, 1844.

THE END.

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